THE Danger of Tolerating LEVELLERS In a Civill State:

OR,

An Historicall Narration of the dangerous pernicious practices and opinions, wherewith *SAMUEL GORTON* and his Levelling Accomplices so much disturbed and molested the severall Plantations in *NEW-ENGLAND*;

(Parallel to the positions and proceedings of the present Levellers in *OLD-ENGLAND*.)

Wherein their severall Errors dangerous and very destructive to the peace both of Church and State, their cariage and reviling language against Magistracy and all Civill power, and their blasphemous speeches against the holy things of God:

TOGETHER,

With the Course that was there taken for suppressing them, are fully set forth:

With a Satisfactory Answer to their Complaints made to the PARLIAMENT:

By *Edw. Winslow* of *Plymouth* in *New-England*.

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The Contents.

THe *Magistrates proceedings at* Boston *in* New-England, *against* Samuel Gorton *and his Accomplices* pag. 1.

The first Letter of Samuel Gorton *and his Accomplices to the Magistrates of* Boston *in* New-England p. 9.

The second Letter of Samuel Gorton *and his Accomplices to the Magistrates of* Boston *in* New-England. p. 28.

Certain observations collected out of both their Letters, containing their reproachfull Speeches of the government and Magistrates of the Massachusets. p. 38.

Their reviling language against Magistracy it self, and all Civill power. p. 43.

Their blasphemous speeches against the holy things of God. p. 47.

The sum of the presentment of Samuel Gorton, *at* Portsmouth *in* Roade Island, *by the grand Iury.* p. 54

Mr. Roger Williams *his Letter unto* Mr. Winthrop *concerning* Samuel Gorton. p. 55.

A Letter from the Inhabitants of Providence *against* Gorton *and his Accomplices.* p. 56.

The true Cause of Gortons *sufferings in* New-England. p. 66.

The ground of a War like to ensue. p. 71.
Gortons *abuse of* Mr. Cotton, *and* Mr. Ward *answered.* p. 76.
A false Glosse of State service discovered. p. 80.
Gorton *Preached against Magistracie, and yet accepts it in his own person.* p. 83.
The ground or Cause of our first planting in New-England. p. 88.
The Church at Leyden, *and the Churches in* New-England, *hold Communion with the Reformed Churches.* p. 93.
New-Englands *practice toward them that differ from them in Religion.* p. 100.

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A TRVE RELATION OF THE Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the *Massachusets* in *New-England*, against *Samuel Gorton* and his Accomplices; with the grounds and reasons thereof, examined and allowed by their Generall Court holden at *Boston* in *November*, 1646.

SAMVEL GORTON lived sometime at *Plymouth*, where his behaviour was so turbulent and offensive both to the Magistrates and others, as they were necessitated to drive him out of their Jurisdiction. From thence hee went to *Roade-Island*, where hee began to raise sedition, and to make a party against the Authority there; for which hee was apprehended and whipped, and so sent away. From thence (with some others whom hee had gathered to his part) hee removed to *Providence*, where Mr. *Roger Williams* then lived. Hee (with some others) opposed his sitting down there as an Inhabitant, onely in regard of his present distresse, they gave way for his abode for a time. But being once housed, hee soon drew so great a party to him, as it was beyond the power of Mr. *Williams* and his party to drive them out, or to rule them there; so as both parties came armed into the field each against other, and had fought it out, had not Mr. *Williams* used meanes for pacification.

Hereupon many of the chiefe of *Providence* sent messengers with a Letter to the Governour and Councell of the *Massachusets*, desiring aide against *Gorton* and his company; but they were answered, that not being within our Jurisdiction nor confederation we had no ground to interpose in their quarrells. Soone after some of those men tendred themselves and their lands to come under our Government, and were received.

There live neere to *Providence* two small Indian *Sachims* called *Pumham* and *Soconoco*, who though they are as free as the great *Sachim* of the *Nanohiggonset*: Yet *Myantonimo* the then *Sachim* of of *Nanohiggonset* (being a very proud and sterne man) kept them in great awe. This poore *Sachim Pumham* had a large parcell of land neer *Providence*, very convenient for plantation, which *Gorton* and his company (being now about 13, or 14.) taking notice of, and fearing they should not be able to keep their power long where they were, dealt with *Myantonimo* for this parcell of land, promising him a good parcell of *Wampam* for it. And because they knew that *Pumham* was the true owner of it, they dealt with him also; but he refusing to sell it (for hee dwelt upon it, or very neare to it) they caused *Myantonimo* to send for him, and having drawn a Writing purporting the sale thereof for a certaine consideration to bee given to both of them, *Myantonimo* signed it, and hee for feare of *Myantonimo* set his mark to it also, not knowing what it was. But when *Gorton* tendred him the consideration for it, hee utterly refused it, it being the Indians manner not to account any thing sold, till the party have received the thing it is sold for.

But upon this colourable title *Gorton* and his company enter upon the land, and build some houses, and withall much wrong the Indians with their cattle, and having *Myantonimo* their friend, behave themselves very insolently toward the poor Indians, who (having no friends or meanes to relieve themselves) came and tendred themselves and their lands to the government of the *Massachusets*, who (by order of the Court) gave notice thereof to *Myantonimo*, and appointed him to come or send to the next Court at *Boston*, to shew his title or interest (if hee had any) to the said *Pumham* and *Soconoco* or their lands. At the time appointed hee came, and pretended that they were his vassalls, but it appeared clearly both by a writting from Mr. *Williams*, and the testimony of some other English in those parts, and of divers other Indians no way related to them,

them, that they were free *Sachims*; ſo as *Myantonimo* having nothing to reply, the Court received the two Indian *Sachims* with their ſubjects and lands under the government and protection of the *Maſſachuſetts*; and upon that writ to our neighbours of *Providence*, intimating the ſame to them, and adviſing *Gorton* and his company, that if they had any juſt title to the lands they poſſeſſed, they ſhould come, or ſend ſome for them to ſhew the ſame to the Court, and offered them ſafe conduct. This letter from the Court they tooke in great diſdaine, and returned ſcornfull and menacing anſwers by word of mouth, and a good time after they wrote a letter to the Court full of reproach and blaſphemies, not onely againſt the Magiſtrates, but againſt the Churches and Ordinances, as by the Copy thereof hereafter following will appeare. Notwithſtanding theſe provocations and daily wrongs offered to thoſe few Engliſh their neighbours (who had formerly ſubmitted themſelves to our Government) wee ſate ſtill neare halfe a yeare, and before we attempted any thing againſt them, wee adviſed with the Commiſſioners of the united Colonies, who (upon teſtimony of their inſolent and injurious courſes, and peruſall of the letter they ſent to us) left them to us to proceed according to Juſtice. Whereupon the Court ſent againe to them by two of their members, who carryed letters (to require and perſwade them to come and give ſatisfaction,) and a ſafe Conduct withall; but they entertained thoſe Meſſengers as they had done the former, threatening to whip one, whom they tooke along with them; and ſent us word, that if wee had any thing to ſay to them, wee ſhould come to them, and wee ſhould have juſtice there, and that if wee came with force, they would meet us half the way. Our meſſengers returning with theſe ſcornfull anſwers, the Court reſolved to ſend ſome force to fetch them in; and in the mean time there came a ſecond letter from them; (the Copy whereof is hereafter alſo ſet downe) but before wee ſent forth our ſouldiers, wee wrote to them to this effect: *Viz.* That although the injuries and provocations wee had indured from them were very grievous, yet that our Juſtice and moderation might appeare to all men, wee had condeſcended ſo farre to their owne propoſition, as wee would ſend ſome Commiſſioners to them, to heare their anſwers and allegations, and if thereupon they would give us ſuch ſatisfaction as ſhould bee juſt, wee would leave them in peace; if otherwiſe, wee would right our ſelves by force of Armes: And ſignified withall,

that wee would send a sufficient guard with our Commissioners; for seeing they would not trust themselves with us upon our safe conduct, wee had no reason to trust any of ours with them upon their bare curtesie. Accordingly about a week after wee sent three Commissioners, and 40 Musqueteers with them, with instructions, first to speak and treate with them, and to require satisfaction according to Justice, and if it were denyed, then to take them by force, and bring them prisoners to *Boston*; and to take withall so much of their substance as should satisfie our charges. By the way as they went they met with another letter from them, letting them know, that they feared them not, but were prepared for them: And accordingly they had fortified themselves in one house (some 12 of them) and had lined the walls with earth (Musket proofe) and had made Flanckers, and provided victualls, &c. to indure a siege. So that when our Commissioners came to the place, they would admit no parly. But after a while, by the mediation of some of their neighbours, they were content to parley, and offered to referre the cause to Arbitrators, so as some of them might bee of *Providence*, or of *Roade* Island. Our Commissioners were content to send to us to know our minds about it, and in the meane time sate still. Such of the Court as could meet, returned answer that their Proposition was neither seasonable nor reasonable, nor could it bee safe or honourable for us to accept thereof: 1 Because they would never offer nor hearken to any termes of agreement before our souldiers had them in their power. 2 Because the ground of their Proposition was false, for wee were not parties (as they pretended) but equall Judges between the *Indians* and others who were complainants, and themselves, (and yet in a case of warre, parties may bee Judges.) 3 They were no State, or Body politique, but a few fugitives living without Law or Government, and so not honourable for us to joyne with them in such a way of reference. 4 The parties whom they would referre it unto, were such as had been rejected by us, and all the Governments in the Country, and so not likely to bee equall to us, nor able to judge of the cause: and their blasphemous and reproachfull writings, &c. were not matters fit to bee composed by Arbitrement, (being deeply criminall) but either to bee purged away by repentance and publique satisfaction, or else by publique punishment. For these and other reasons, the Commissioners were required to proceed according to their Instructions.

ctions. And thereupon they intrenched themselves about the house, and in few dayes forced them to yeeld, and so brought them to *Boston*, where they were kept in prison till the Court sate, and had their dyet from the Cookes (as good meat and drinke as the Towne afforded.) The next Lords day they refused to goe to the Church assembly, except they might have liberty to speake there, as occasion should be. They were answered by some of the Magistrates that it appertained to the Elders to order the affairs of the Church, but they might presuppose they should not bee denyed such liberty, speaking words of truth and soberneſſe. So in the afternoon they came, and were placed in a convenient seate before the Elders. Mr. *Cotton* the Teacher taught then (in his ordinary course) out of *Acts* 19. of *Demetrius* speech for *Diana* her silver shrine. After Sermon *Gorton* desired leave to speake, which being granted, hee tooke occasion from the Sermon to speake to this effect, That in the Church now there was nothing but Christ, so that all our Ordinances, Ministers, and Sacraments, &c. were but mens inventions, for shew and pomp, and no other then those silver shrines of *Diana*. He said also, that if Christ lives eternally, then he died eternally, and other speeches of like kinde. And indeed it appeareth both by his speeches and letters, that it was his opinion, that Christ was incarnate in *Adam*, and was that image of God, wherein *Adam* was created; and that the chiefe worke and merit lay in his *Inanition*, when he became such a thing, so meane, &c. and that his being borne after of the Virgin *Mary*, and suffering, &c. was but a manifestation of his suffering, &c. in *Adam*. Another of them said that the Sabbath was Christ, and so was borne of the Virgin *Mary*. They called Magistracy among Christians an Idol; yet they did acknowledge a Magistracy in the world to bee subjected to as an Ordinance of God, but onely as naturall; as the father over his wife and children, and an hereditary Prince over his subjects.

Their first appearance before the Court was upon the Lecture day at *Boston*, before a very great Assembly, where first the Governour declared the cause and manner of all the proceedings against them, and their Letters were openly read, and they had liberty to object, and answers were given, as followeth:

First, to their plea, That they were not within our Jurisdiction; it was answered: 1 If they were not within ours, yet they were within the Jurisdiction of one of our confederates, who had refer-

red them to us. 2 If they were within no Jurisdiction, then was there none to complaine to for redresse of our injuries in way of ordinary Justice, and then we had no way of relief but by force of Armes.

Secondly, to their plea *Of persecution for their Conscience, &c.* It was answered, that wee did not meddle with them for their opinions, otherwise then they had given us occasion, by their owne Letters and free speeches amongst us, for wee wrote to them about civill Controversies onely, and gave them no occasion to vent their blasphemies and revilings against the Ordinances of Religion set up with us.

Thirdly, for their title to the *Indians* lands: wee had divers times desired them to make it appeare; but they alwayes refused, even to our Commissioners, whom (according to their owne motion) wee sent last to them: and since they were in prison, wee offered them to send for any witnesses they would name to us for that end, but this also they refused. So that our title (by the Indians surrender) appeareth good, and having regained possession, we need not question them any further about that.

Their Letters being read and their Subscriptions acknowledged, they were demanded severally if they would maintaine those things which were contained therein. Their answer was, that they would, in that sense they wrote them, and so were returned to prison. The next day they were brought before the Court severally to be examined upon particulars, (many of the Elders being desired to bee present) because they had said they could give a good interpretation of every part of their Letters. But the interpretation they gave being contrary to the words, they were demanded if they would then retract those words, so plainely different from their pretended meanings. But this they refused to doe, saying, that then they should deny the Truth; for instance in one or two. Their Letters were directed, one of them, *To their Neighbours of the Massachusetts*: and the other, *To the great honoured Idoll Generall of the Massachusetts*, and by a messenger of their owne delivered to our Governour, and many passages in both Letters particularly applyed to our Courts, our Magistrates, our Elders, &c. and yet upon their examinations about their meanings in their reproachfull passages, they answered that they meant them, of the corrupt estate of mankinde

kinde in generall, and not of us. So, whereas in their Letter they charged it upon us, as an errour that we teach, *That Christ dyed Actually onely*, when he suffered under *Pontius Pilate*; and before, onely in *Types*, &c. upon their examination they said, that their meaning was, that his death was actuall to the faith of the Fathers under the Law, (which is in effect the same which we hold:) Yet they would not retract their words they had written. The Elders conferred many houres with them before the Court, and by occasion thereof they discovered divers blasphemous opinions, which they maintained, we will instance one which was mentioned before, delivered by *Gorton*, *viz.* that the Image of God wherein *Adam* was created, was Christ; and *Adams* loosing that Image was the death of Christ, and the restoring of that Image in the Regeneration, was the resurrection of Christ: and so the death of him that was borne of the Virgin *Mary* was but a manifestation of the former. Master *William Tompson* one of the Elders had spent some time with them before in the prison about the opinions which they held forth, and they had professed their agreement with him (for substance) in every point, so as he came to the Court with a purpose to speak in their behalf, but when he heard themselves discover thus upon their publique examinations, he shewed how he had beene deluded by them. For they excell the *Jesuites* in the art of equivocation, and regard not how false they speake, to all other mens apprehensions, so they keepe to the rules of their owne secret intentions. Being asked why they spake against the Ordinances of the Ministery, Sacraments, &c. seeing the Scripture allowes them? They answered that they were ordained onely for the time of Nonage, but after the Revelation was written, they were to cease, because we finde no mention of them in that booke.

They were unlearned men, the ablest of them could not write true english, no not in common words, yet they would take upon them to interpret the most difficult places of Scripture, and wrest them any way to serve their owne turne. As for instance, Mr. *Cotton* pressing *Gorton* with that in *Act.* 10. Who can forbid water, why these should not be baptised, &c. He interpreted thus, who can deny but these have beene baptised, seeing they have received the Holy Ghost, &c. so he allowed them to have beene baptised. This shift he was put to, that he might maintaine his opinion, *viz:* that such as have beene baptized with the Holy Ghost, need not the baptisme

of

of water. Divers dayes were spent both by the Court and the Elders in labouring to bring them to repentance, but all in vaine. They continued obstinate. Whereupon they agreed to sentence them, but first they brought them in publique before a great Assembly, and there (out of their Letters and Speeches) they laid upon them this charge, *viz.* they were found to be blasphemous enemies of the true Religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of all his holy Ordinances, and likewise of all Civill Government among his people, and particularly within this jurisdiction. Then they were demanded, if they did acknowledge this charge to be just, and would submit to it, or what exception they had against it? They answered, they did not acknowledge it to be just, but they fell into some cavilling speeches, so they were returned unto prison againe. Being in prison they behaved themselves insolently towards their keeper, and spake evill of the Magistrates, so as the keeper was forced to threaten them with Irons, to keepe them quiet.

After all meanes used to reclaime them, and not prevailing, they were brought before the Court to receive their sentence, which was this. *Gorton* and six more of them, were to be sent to severall townes, there to bee kept to worke for their livings, and to weare an Iron chaine upon one leg, and not to depart the limits of the Towne, nor by word or writing to maintaine any of their blasphemous or wicked errours upon paine of death, except in conference with any of the Elders, or any other allowed by some Magistrate to conferre with them; and this to continue during the pleasure of the Court. Three of the Company (because they had not their hands to the Letters) were set at libertie, two of them upon a small ransome as prisoners taken in warre, and the other, freely, for that he was amongst them in his Masters house, where they were taken; a fourth being found to be a plaine ignorant young man was discharged also, onely enjoyned to abide a time in one of our Townes, but hee went away and returned no more, contrary to his promise. There were two other who were brought in after; (but not by force) the one of them disclaiming to have any hand in the Letters, was discharged presently; the other was kept a while in prison, and after upon his submission &c. was released.

Gorton and the other six remained in the severall Townes all that Winter; and then in regard of their wives and children (who were like to be much distressed by their husbands absence) they were set at liberty,

liberty, and baniſhed upon paine of death if they were found in any part of our juriſdiction.

After the Court had paſſed ſentence upon them for their confinement, we ſent to fetch ſo many of their Cattle, as might defray the charges they had put us to, which amounted to about one hundred and ſixty pounds, but the Cattle came not to ſo much, for we left every of them a part for the ſupport of their families, and ſome of them had no Cattle at all.

The Letters follow,

Mooſhawſet Novemb: 20. 1642.

To our Neighbours of the Maſſachuſets.

VVHereas we lately received an irregular note, profeſſing its forme from the Maſſachuſets, with four mens names ſubſcribed thereunto, as principall authors of it, of the chiefe amongſt you; We could not eaſily give credit to the truth thereof, not onely becauſe the conveyers of it unto us, are knowne to bee men, whoſe conſtant and profeſſed acts are worſe, then the counterfeiting of mens hands; but alſo, becauſe we thought that men of your parts and profeſſion, would never have proſtrated their wiſdome to ſuch an act. But conſidering that cauſleſſe enmity you have againſt us; the proofe wherof, every occaſion brings forth; Wee cannot but conclude, that no act ſo ill which that ancient mother will not bring forth her ſeed unto. For wee know very well, that it is the name of Chriſt called upon us, which you ſtrive againſt; Thence it is that you ſtand on tip-toe, to ſtretch your ſelves beyond your bounds; to ſeeke occaſion againſt us; (So) as you might hide your ſinne with *Adam*, bearing the world in hand, it is not your deſire to contend with us; But ſome civill breach in our courſes, which you onely ſeeke to redreſſe. Whereas neither you, nor any (in way of truth) can finde wherewith, to bring us under the Cenſure of a diſorderly courſe of walking amongſt men: And as for the way of that ancient ſpirit of accuſation of the brethren, we weigh it not, knowing him to be a lyer, (or in the abſtract, a lye) from the beginning, yea and the father of it alſo, which thing you cannot know, though it were told unto you.

Whereas you ſay, *Robert Cole, William Arnauld* with others, have put themſelves under the Government and protection of your Juriſdiction

riſdiction, which is the occaſion you have now got to contend; we wiſh your words were verified, that they were not elſewhere to be found, being nothing but the ſhame of Religion, Diſquiet, and Diſturbance of the place where they are. For, we know neither the one nor the other, with all their aſſociates and Confederates, have power to enlarge the bounds, by Kinge *Charles* limited unto you.

Behold therfore in this your act, a Map of your ſpirituall eſtate, (to uſe your owne phraſe) for we know that the Spirituality of your Churches, is the Civility of your Commonweale, and the Civility of your Comonwealth, is the ſpirituality of your Churches, the wiſdome of man, being the whole accompliſhment of them both; of which Tree, you delight dayly to eate (finding it faire and beautifull) to gaine Conformity with your maker. In theſe your Diſſembling ſubjects; groſſly profane amongſt us, but full of the ſpirit of your purity, when they are with you, you may remember the brand your ſelves have ſet upon ſome of them, the Cauſe wherof was never yet removed, though it abide not upon their backe; Nor yet the Cauſe of your Commitment of them unto *Sathan* according unto your Law, for if that were removed, you ſhould doe them wrong, in not reſuming your vomit into its former Concoction againe; Nor are we ignorant of thoſe diſgracefull tearmes they uſe, and give out againſt you, behind your backes, their ſubmiſſion therfore can bee to no other end, but to ſatisfie their owne luſts, not onely conceived, but in violent motion, againſt their Neighbours, who never offered the leaſt wrong unto them, only the propoſition of Amity, is object ſufficient, for theſe mens enmitie.

Even ſo the paſſions of ſin, which are by the Law, having force in your Members; you going about with great labour and induſtry to ſatisfie them by your ſubmiſſion unto the word of God, in your Faſting, and feaſting, in Contributing, and treaſuring, in retiredneſſe for Study, and bowing of the backes of the poore, going forth in labour to maintaine it, and in the ſpirit of that hireling, raiſing up, your whole ſtructure and edifice, in all which you bring forth nothing but fruit unto death, ſome labouring for a price to give for the keeping of their ſoules, in peace and ſafe eſtate and Condition, and ſome to have their bodies furniſhed with riches, honour and eaſe, and further then the Lord Jeſus agrees with theſe, you mind him not, nay you renounce and reject him, and with

theſe

these (according to your Acceptation and practice) he holdes no Correspondency at all, being the Consultation and operation of that his onely adversarie, man being that which you depend upon, and not the Lord, Crying out in way of Elevation, and applauding his ministers, when in the meane time, you know not what, nor who they are, professing them under a mediate Call of Christ, though formerly, they have beene Called immediately by him, herby showing your selves to be those, that destroy the Sacred ordinance of God: For if you make Christ to be that to day, in stateing his ministers; which he was not yesterday, and that in the tyme of the Gospell also, (to speake acording to your Law) to be found in them both, you therin affirm, that he hath beene that to his ministers, which now he is not, and to make the Son of God to have beene that which now he is not, is to make a Nullitie of him, not to be at all, for he is the Lord that changeth not, no not a shadow therof is found in him, so that you plainely Crucifie unto your selves, the Lord of glory, and put him to an open shame, So that as you know not, how Christ, conversing with his father in heaven, is found on the earth, amongst the true worshippers, no more do you know, how in his conversing with *Nicodemus* on the earth, he concludes himselfe to be in heaven, with his father. On this foundation hangeth the whole building of your Doctrine, concerning the sufferings of Christ, you Annihilate the Cross, then the which, the Saints have no other Consolation: and prepare no better a place then Purgatory, for the honourable fathers of our Lord: For you conclude, that Christ dyed in the Decree, and purpose God, in the time of the Law, but actually onely when he hanged on the Crosse in the dayes of *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*, that hee was crucified in the types and shadowes of the law, but in the truth, and substance, when hee appeared borne of the Virgin *Mary*: So must you also conclude that the fathers under the law, were only saved, in purpose and Decree, in Type and shadow, but actually and substantially onely at the Comming of Christ in the flesh: therefore deale plainely with those that depend upon you for instruction (as your Ancestours in the papacie have don) and proclaime a place of purgatorie, provided for them in the meane, without which, your Doctrine hath no foundation. For if you raise up a shaddow, without a substance, and the substance of him that dwelleth in light, without a shaddow, you play the part of Wisards, or

Necromancers, not the part of true Naturalists, in the things of the Kingdome of god.

So that as farre as these men are from beinge honourable and loyall subjects, so farre are you from being voluntaries in the Day of Gods power, and from yeelding subjection unto the Beauties of holiness. Such also is your professed Rule, and Government, in the things that concern the Kingdom of our God, they are infinitly beyond, and out of the Reach of that Spirit which is gone out amongst you, the Capacity wherof can no wayes comprehend, the breadth of the land of *Emanuel*, nor entreth it within the Vale, Therefore it cannot know those Cherubims of glory, neither can it heare the voice of that lively Oracle, speaking onely from off the covering Mercy-seate, and not elsewhere to be heard; We speake not but what wee know, these things are out of its Jurisdiction; Therfore dumb in telling Justice, nor speakes it any of that Righteousnesse and glory, comprysed in another circuit, then ever you were yet made Lords of: Long therfore may you boast, of your Jurisdiction before ever you attaine unto a *Jurisprudentia*, in these things.

In that you tell us wee offer you wrong, by a pretended purchase: you are as much mistaken in the purchase, as in the wrong, For it is right that we are about to do, neither is our purchase a pretence, but precedentiall, not onely in this Civill respect, but may also admonish all men, to take heed, how they depend upon false and self-seeking interpreters, when both themselves, and they that have the vision, are ignorant of the Contract, and Covenant of God. Thence it is, that you teach, that the spouse of Christ, upon Contract with her Lord, may conceive the seed of immortalitie, and bring forth fruit unto God, when as yet the day of mariage, that great Feastivitie, and solemnization, of the Consolations of God, is not yet comne, witnesse your prorogation thereof, if not to the Descension of Christ from heaven unto the earth, to Raigne certaine years, yet to the Calling of the Jewes, whom yee your selves are, according to the flesh, and to the destruction of that Man of sinn whom yee so stoutly maintain, What is this, but to proclaime unto all the world, that Audacious spirit of whoredoms, professing Conception and bringing forth before the Nuptiall day?

In that you conclude your Clyents Right to arise out of foure years possession, wee have no such order, if you meane the Right

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of Conqueſt, (onely held in that tenure) the true owners were never yet ſubdued, for that is the right they expect to injoy by you, for ſome of them committed part of their ſuppoſed right unto us, profeſſing it was, that they might have help, to injoy the reſt; But when they ſaw, wee would not be Abetters unto them without, much leſſe contrary unto Covenant, then they flye unto you for help, Their poſſeſſion, beeing a meere intruſion, as all the Natives know and ever exclaymed againſt them for the ſame, And ſo may our Countrymen alſo, whoſe eyes are not dazled with envie, and eares open to Lyes, as we know yours are, elſe you had heard both ſydes ſpeake, before you had Judged.

But wee profeſs right held, according to no ſuch intereſt, but upon the ground of Covenant onely, knowne in its nature; In the parties 'twixt whom it is plight, In the poſſeſſer, and the poſſeſſed, with the nature of all fruit ariſing from their accord and concurrencie, together with their Diſtinct, Harmonicall, Reciprocall, and Joint properties, and operations of them both: Such is the tenure wee hould, and maintain, before men and Angels, and oppoſe it againſt man and Divell, Not in taking up unto our ſelves, certaine offices and officers which wee can teach children to bee, and to perform, and from thence preſently to conclude, the poſſeſſion of the Kingdome, Crying out our peace offerings are upon us, this Day we have payd our vowes. But when that Dark cloud deſcended upon the Tabernacle, becomes the light, and glory of all Iſraell (there being nothing acknowledged amongſt them, but what ariſeth out thence) then, and then only, are the orders, as alſo the men of Iſraell, derived from the true fountaine, which no tongue can confeſs, but it is ſalvation, and then, not elſe, is the heritage of our Lord in poſſeſſion, yea, even the wayleſs wilderneſſ knowes, how to afford them an habitation, which had its being before the hills and mountaines were borne: which men begin to flye unto for refuge, to hide them from the preſence of the Lamb: this is a poſſeſſion, which no man can intrude himſelfe into: it is onely Covenanted with him, thorow an inlightned eye, and bored eare, which man performeth not, nor can it be received from him.

For wee know that Cloud of thick darkneſſe, that hides and covers the whole frame and fabrick of the work of God, to be the clearing and evidencing of every point and particular thereof, yea to us,

It is even that cloud of witnes, which testifies unto us, they like workes to appeare, when ever the world hath occasion to make use of us.

Never doth it shine but in the night, never is it dark to Israel but in the day, but in the one, and the other, the only glory and safetie of all the tribes: but how, you know not, nor can you with all your libraries, give the Interpretation thereof, but have lost it in the wilderness, and accordingly, have made the whole way, and will of our Lord, the ouldnesse of the letter, both to your selves, and to all that have an eare to lissen unto you; Thence it is that the day of Lord, is a day of Darkness and Gloominess unto you, but of Joy and gladness unto us, yea, it lifts up our head onely, and then is our salvation neere; For wee know the worthies of *David* doubled about the bed of *Solomon*, which expell all feare in the night, handling the sword with sucess, making the adversaries nothing but meat to feede upon, so that the tyme of your feares is the time of our Courage and Conquest, for when you feare errour, schisme, Rents and Confusions in Church and State, then do wee know the Messenger of the Covenant, the Lord whom wee seek is speeding his passage into his holy temple: For who (under the terrors of your spirit) may abide his Coming, hee being like a refiners fire, and Fullers sope?

In that you invite us unto your Courts to fetch your equall ballanced justice, upon this ground, that you are becomne one with our adversaries, and that, both in what they have, and what they are, and wee know them to bee such, as profess the day of the Lord an unhallowed thing. Now, if wee have our opponant, to prefer his action against us, and not only so, but to bee our Counsell, our Jurie, and our Judg, for so it must bee, if you bee one with them (as you affirm) wee know before hand, how our Cause will bee ended, and see the scale of your equall Justice turned alreadie, before wee have layd our Cause therein, and cannot but admire, to see you caried so contrarie to your owne received principles: For you know not how to finde Christ as a Ruling and teaching Elder both in one person, therfore he is not Complete amongst you by your owne law, except in severall persons, and you may thank tradition, else you know no more how to finde both a king and a priest in him, and yet in your way of making tender of your Justice unto us you know how to become one with our adversaries (so) as

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if wee deale with them, wee deale with you, and if wee have to doe with you, wee have to doe with them alſo, yea further, wee know, that the chiefe amongſt you, have profeſſed wee are not worthy to live; and that if ſome of us were amongſt you, wee ſhould hardly ſee the place of our abode any more; Now that they have brooded upon their law, to take away life, they muſt much more bring it up, in taking away all means of life, Witnes our prohibition, that no powder ſhould be ſould unto us for our money, and that in a time when you could not thinke your ſelves ſafe, in all your owne, ſelf proviſion and worldly furniture, except you diſarmed a company of poor Indians, whom *Aaron* your Leviticall Sacrificer hath made Naked, as hee doth all thoſe which triumph in a Calf, though the moſt coſtly and beautifull, that the Jewells and eare-rings of Learning, either in Language, or art, can poſſibly bring forth: your owne amazements upon meer Rumors, may teſtifie the truth hereof; ſo then; wee are Judged by your law before our Cauſe bee hard, or our ſelves brought forth under the liberties of it, which thing is well pleaſing unto us, to have our Condition conformed unto *Moſes* the man of God, who was dead in *Pharaohs* account, before he was brought forth, and ſo it was with Chriſt our lord, in the dayes of *Herod* alſo, who is our life (at which you ſtrike) and makes all things, yea, Death it ſelf, lively, and advantagious unto us.

Wee cannot but wonder, that you ſhould read the Scripture, and not finde them fulfilled, in, and amongſt your ſelves, when as they appeare ſo apparantly, that he that runs may read them: what think you of *Herod*, when the Lord had delivered *Peter* out of priſon, and releaſed him of thoſe bonds, and brought him from that thraldom, which he had ſo Cruelly impoſed upon him, to gaine the favour of the Jewes, and that by a power ſupereminent, tranſcending the bounds of his authoritie, and by a wiſdom ſurpaſſing the Depth of his Counſell, and policie, to fynd out, together with his ſouldiers and Champions, he preſently goes downe to *Ceſarea*, and *Herod* is angry with them of *Tyrus* & *Sidon*, (*thymomachon*) a heavie Friend, or hath a ſecret grudg or perturbation of mind, manifeſted in an outreaching, and circumventing policie, to ſubdue them unto himſelf, that he might Rule over them: Finding himſelf fall ſhort of power and policie, to ſubject the word of God in the meſſinger of it, to ſatisfy his owne luſts, in his lordſhip over it, he purſues with all egarneſſe to make himſelf a god, by Raigning over the bo-

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dies and estates of men, yea, though they be but such, as *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, can afford unto him, to make subjects of, and when they come unto him with one accord to make offer of themselves, in yeelding to his affectionate and politicall project, he sitting uppon the Judgment seate, in his Royall apparell, making his oration, of what power he hath to protect them, what wisdom and Counsell, to ministeer Justice and righteousnes unto them (which office belongs only unto the Lord) the people with a shout crying out, the voice of god and not of man, the truth and substance of which Cry is, this is the ordinance of god and not of man, immediately the angel of the Lord smites him, and hee that ever acknowledged himself, to bee a worme, and no man upon the earth, Consumes and eates up all his pomp and glory, even as those, whom you account the Shame and Contempt of the people, shall (thorow that angell of the Covenant) waste and bring to nought all those Rhetoricall, (though earthly) Orations that are made amongst you, by your so Learned, studious, and experienced Clarkes: take for illustration of your estate as above, the speech of your alderman *Oliver*, in case of committing *Francis Hutchinson* to prison; one of your Church-members wondering that brother *Winthrop* would do it before the Church had dealt with him, Brother, saith hee, why; hee is thy god man.

Lend your eye yet farther, to parallell your practise personated in *Pylate* and the people, when *Pylat* offereth Jesus unto the people to be judged, they profess, they have such a law, as puts no man to Death: they are all for mercy and forgivenes, when they are out of the Judgment hall, but let *Pylat* enter in thither; and then, nothing but Crucifie him, Crucifie him; be their accusations, and witnesses, never so false: even so, in your dealings with men, in way of your Jewish brotherhood, your law is all for mercie, to Redress, reform, and for preservation, both of soule and bodie; Do but enter into the Common hall, and then, as *Pylat* asked (am I a Jew?) so do you, Doe I sit, or speake here, as a brother? I tro not, I am now in a higher sphere, then that (though they be acknowledged coheirs with Christ) can attaine unto, therfore if witness be brought in, and Oath taken, though never so untrue, your consciences are purged by law, and your power must have tribute payd unto it; so far as mens Names, to bee branded with infamie, estates, depryving women and children of things necessarie, and precious lives of men

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can extend themselves, to contribute any thing thereunto; so that the professed mercie, and Clemencie of your law, to exercise censures only for amendment of life, and recoverie, comes unto this issue, as much as in you lies, to send both soule and body downe unto hell for ever without redresse, and all hope of recovery.

But your houre, and the power of Darknesse, is known what it is, either to have mens persons in admiration because of advantage; or else, to seek all occasions against them, to brand them with all manner of reproch, and ignominie, but for the truth, taught daily in the Temple, you know not how to stretch out your hand, or exercise your ministry against it, lest it become leprous, and you take it back again with losse, when it appeares dried and withered.

And wherefore reason yee amongst your selves, saying, wee exercise the power of your ministrations against none but such as are Delinquents, whereby we cleer the innocent, and establish peace in all our borders?

Wee demand, what think you of those two witnesses, prophecying in Sackcloth, a thousand two hundreth and threescore Dayes: those two olive trees, and two candlesticks, standing before the God of the earth? are these guiltie and vile persons, out of whose hands (by the power of your ministries) you are delivering and releasing the world? then indeed are your wayes justifiable: But if these bee the Just, Chosen, and peculiar friends of God, yea such, as without which, his truth and Righteousnesse are not justified, his wisdom, and holinesse maintained and upheld in the world, in point of salvation by Christ, then are your wayes wicked, and to bee abhorred, for in your professed Course, you are they, by whom these are slaine, and put to Death, and all your glory is to keepe their Corpes unburied in your streetes, and yet you know not what you are doing, no more then you know what these witnesses are, whom you are altogether ignorant of, for your Libraries never saw them, and you see not but by their eyes, for these are two, and never more, nor yet lesse, yea ever the same, they are olive trees, else no witnesses, and also Candlesticks, else both the former faile, yea, are not at all. Wee must tell you what these are, else wee cannot declare how you kill them, for it is not our intent to open unto you the house of the treasures, the silver and the gold, and the spices, and the precious oyntment, nor the house of our armour, because you take all as

execrable, and put all to a profane use that commeth from us; but these two witnesses are the life and death of our Lord Jesus; or, in the true language of heaven also, the strength and the weakness of Christ, for hee was crucified through weakness, but hee liveth by the power of God: this is the word of the Lord in *Zerubbabel*, Not by an army, nor by power, and so deprives him of all strength, but by a spirit, that the greatest mountaine, or loftiest hill in the world cannot stand before, but becomes a plaine, which with facility and ease hee passeth upon; thence it is that hee doth not onely lay the top or the head stone of all, but also the lowest in the foundation, and then onely is the voice of shouting heard, Grace, grace in the house for ever; and then doth the day of small things become the day of joy and triumph, yea, of parting the rich spoiles and prey of all the world, for then hee that doth but turn and lift up his eyes he cannot looke besides that great flying book of the Curse that is gone forth over the whole earth.

Without these two witnesses jointly uttering themselves in every particular Scripture undertaken to bee divulged by any, no evidence nor testimony of God is given, or brought in at all, but a meere refuge of lies for the soules of men to betake themselves unto; without these two pipes of the olive trees emptying themselves into the bowle of the candlesticks, no unction nor oyle at all is found in them, and that being wanting, the light of the Sanctuary is gone out; so that the light appearing amongst you is onely the light of *Balaam*, whose eye was open, which you may read either *Shethum* or *Sethum*, for that opening is nothing else but the shutting up of the holy things of God, so that in seeing you see not, but communicate onely in the light of that beast, who puts the witnesses to death, as *Balaam* did in the sight of that dumbe beast of his whose eyes were opened to see the angel before him; so that while you thinke it is our wisdome to stoope unto you for light, wee never come amongst you but see our selves in a regiment of grosse and palpable darkenesse, and discern you very plainly, how you scrabble upon the wall to finde the doore of *Lots* house, and cannot. As also how you toil your selves to climbe up into the sheep-fold, another, yea, so many other wayes, and have no sight nor discerning of us the Door, at all, by the which whosoever entereth, becomes a true feeder of the flock of God; yea, none entereth in thereat, but the true Shepheard himself.

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Most impious it *is* to put to death two such Noble witnesses, that have power to shut heaven that it raine not in the dayes of their prophecying, to turne the waters into bloud, and to smite the earth with all manner of plagues as oft as they wil, whom that spirit that is amongst you kills on this wise, the life or power of the sonne of God, as above, which is infinite, not admitting of circumscription or containment, for the heaven of heavens cannot containe him, yet have you not dared to graspe and environ that power in the heavens, and therefore have resolved and concluded that hee onely rules upon the earth in these dayes by his Deputies, Lievtenants, and Vicegerents, whereby you limit, and so destroy the holy One of Israel; for give him that in one time, or place, which afterwards, or elsewhere you deny him, and you make a nullity of him unto your selves, and in so doing, you kill that other witnesse, namely, the death or weaknesse of the Lord Jesus: for you must have man to bee honourable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report, else they may not rule among you; yea and these things are of man, and by man, as appeares, in that they onely officiate so, as man may disanull and take it away againe; witnesse your change of officers, constantly speaking for us herein; thus have you slaine also the death or the weaknesse of Christ, who professeth himselfe to bee a worm and no man, the shame and contempt of the people; and these faithfull and true witnesses thus slaine, you must of necessity deny buriall, and keep them both in open view in your streets, or otherwise all your pompe and glory falls to the dust whence it came, and on which it feeds. Nor can you send your presents one to another of your acts of Justice, power to protect, wealth, honour, and friends wherewith you gratifie each other; and where these are thus slaine, and their corps lie in open view, none of the gentiles, peoples, tongues, and kindreds suffering their carkasses to bee put in graves, there is that great City which spiritually is *Sodom* and *Egypt*, where our Lord is crucified; but after three dayes and an half, the spirit of life from God shall enter into them, and they shal stand up upon their feet to the terrour of you all: Nor doe you thinke that wee onely inveigh against the great ones of this world for thus doing, for wee know that the baset peasant hath the same spirit with the greatest Princes of this world, and the greatest of the Princes of this world, hath the very same spirit wherewith the baset peasant hath laid himselfe open in the view of all men; these

wee say, are the two witnesses if you can receive it, and what a dishonour is it to trade so much by meanes of witnesses, and yet not know what a true witnesse is? which if you did, you durst not attempt the things you doe, whereby you cast reproach upon all the world, in that you professe your selves a choice people pickt out of it, and yet goe on, in such practices as you doe, maintaining them as your onely glory. Our Lord gives you in charge not to sweare at all, but it is your dignity to bring men to your seates of Justice with nothing but oathes in their mouthes, why doe you not ballance the scriptures in this point? *viz.*

It hath beene said of old, Thou shalt not committ adultery, but I say unto you, hee that looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her in his heart already: so also it hath beene sayd of old, Thou shalt not forsweare thy self, but I say unto you, sweare not at all: so that if it be adulterie, to looke to lust, it is also forswearing a mans self, to sweare at all; if the one be adultery, the other is perjury, if one be admitted in some cases, the other also, so that in preaching the toleration, nay the duty of an oath, you preach the toleration, yea the duty of adulterie it self; So that our Lord plainly evinceth unto all mens consciences, not onely the guilt but the folly and madnesse of the oath of man, shewing how farre it is, either from investing into place, or demonstrating Causes, so that hee that concludeth upon honour, and power, received from the oath of man, or upon knowledge and bouldnes, to judge in a cause, from that testimony without the which he could not have it, is as vaine in his thoughts, as if hee should herupon conclude, I have now altered the frame of heaven, which is no less stable then the throne of the great God, or demolished the earth, which is as firme as his foot-stoole for ever, or made a fraction in the orders of *Jerusalem*, that choice and peculiar City of the great King, whose institutions no mortall breath can intrench upon, or to professe his authority and skill to be such, whereby he can make a haire of his head blacke or white, cause his age to wax old as doth a garment, or renew it with the Eagle at his pleasure, hereby doth man (in this point of swearing) professe his folly to bee such, that hee is become not onely vaine in his imaginations, but unto that pride and usurpation therein, as to intrude himselfe into the prerogative royall of his Maker.

So that however you boast of the Ordinances of God, yet he tels you

you there is no more then yea, yea, and nay, nay, in them, for what is once nay, is ever nay in the Ordination of Chriſt, and what is once yea, is ever yea with him, and according to his account however man reckoneth, whoſe account ſhall be called over againe, what is once curſe, is ever the curſe, and what is once the principality and power of Chriſt, is ever the principality and power of Chriſt, as that which is once the principality and power of Darkeneſſe, is ever the ſame, what hands ſoever it cometh into for manifeſtation: meaſure your kingdome whether it bee eternall, and your Juriſdiction whether it bee illimited, for he hath given (him) the heathen for his inheritance, the utmoſt parts of the earth for his poſſeſſion, and a kingdome of leſſe extent hee profeſſeth not, nor can hee approve or acknowledge any that doe, no more then light can approve of darkeneſſe, or the Lord *Jehovah* of the Lord *Baal*.

Bee wiſe therefore, and bethinke your ſelves while it is called to day, harden not your hearts, as though you would make your ſelves *Meriba*, nothing but ſtrife and contention againſt the Lord, rather kiſſe the ſonne (if it bee poſſible) leſt his wrath bee kindled and you periſh from the way for ever, O bleſſed onely they, that hope in him.

So that hee which profeſſeth on this wiſe, it is yea, I am a paſtour, but it was nay, at ſuch a time I was none, hee renounceth that ſpirit of the true paſtour, yet onely feeder of Iſrael, profeſſing onely that ſpirit that puſheth the weake with the horne, and pudleth with his feet the waters where the flocke of God ſhould drinke. Hee with whom it is yea, I am a Ruler, but it was nay when I was none at all, renounceth that ſpirit of him that rules in righteouſneſſe, profeſſing the ſpirit of him that rules according to the god of this world, that Prince of the power of the Aire, who is now working ſo effectually in the children of diſobedience. So alſo hee with whom it is yea, I am a Captaine, or chiefe ſlaughter-man, but it was nay, time was I was none at all, renounceth that victorie and ſlaughter made by the Captaine and High-prieſt of our profeſſion, (who as hee is a Lambe ſlaine from the beginning, his victory and ſlaughter muſt bee of the ſame antiquity,) profeſſing himſelfe to bee a chiefe ſlaughter-man, or ſuperfluous Giant, made in that hoaſt of the Philiſtims, ſtanding in readineſſe to come out, to defie the hoaſt of the living God: yea, it is evident, that whatſoever is more then yea, yea, and nay, nay, not ſettling each upon its Baſe, whereon it ſtan-

deth for ever without controule, but can remove, create, or make void offices and officers at their pleasure, is of that evill, or not of Jesus, the salvation of his people, but of *Shedim* that waster and destroyer of mankinde for ever: know therefore that it is the oath of God which confirmes and makes good his Covenant and promise unto a thousand generations: and it is the oath of man, which is the bond and obligation of that league and agreement made with death and hell for ever; bee yee assured it is not the tabernacle of witnes which you have amongst you, brought in by Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles, but it is *Siccuth* your King, or the tabernacle of *Moloch*, the starre of your God *Remphan*, figures which you have made unto your selves, which you have taken up, and are bearing so stoutly upon your shoulders. Now to tell you what an oath according to God is, that the scriptures are delivered upon no other ground or termes of certainty, where ever they are divulged, is a thing out of your jurisdiction, you cannot discerne or judge of it, therefore according to our word above, wee leave it as a parable unto you, as all the holy word of our God is, as your conversation in all points, as in this, daily declareth.

In a word, when wee have to doe in your jurisdiction, we know what it is to submit to the wise dispensations of our God, when you have to doe amongst us, in the liberties hee hath given unto us, wee doubt not, but you shall finde him judge amongst us, beyond and above any cause or thing you can propose unto us; And let that suffice you, and know, that you cannot maintaine a jurisdiction, but you must reject all inroades upon other mens priviledges, and so doe wee.

In the meane time, wee shall (as wee thinke good) bee calling over againe some matters that you have taken up and had the handling of them amongst you, to see what justice or equity wee finde hath beene exercised in them, and redresse them accordingly: for wee professe right unto all men, and not to doe any violence at all, as you in your prescript threaten to doe to us, for wee have learned how to discipline our children, or servants, without offering violence unto them, even so doe wee know how to deale with our deboist, rude, nay inhumane Neighbours, (or if you will, Nabals) without doing violence, but rather rendring unto them that which is their due.

Nor shall wee deprive a witnesse of his modest testimony for the outcries,

out-cries, and clamours of ſuch a one as ill bred apoſtatized *Arnauld* that fellonious Hog-killer, being the partie to bee teſtified againſt, or for the oath of any intereſted in the cauſe, nor ſhall wee bee forward to come ſo farre, to finde your worke upon your requeſt, till wee know you to beare another minde, then others of your Neighbours doe, with whom wee have had to doe in this country, whoſe pretended and deviſed Lawes wee have ſtooped under, to the robbing and ſpoiling of our goods, the livelyhood of our wives and children, thinking they had laboured, (though groping in great darkeneſſe) to bring forth the truth, in the rights and equity of things, but finding them to bee a company of groſſe diſſembling hypocrites, that under the pretence of Law and Religion, have done nothing elſe, but gone about to eſtabliſh themſelves in wayes to maintaine their owne vicious luſts, wee renounce their Diabolicall practice, being ſuch as have denyed in their publique Courts, that the lawes of our Native Country ſhould bee named amongſt them, yea thoſe ancient ſtatute lawes, caſting us into moſt baſe naſtie and inſufferable places of impriſonment for ſpeaking according to the language of them, in the meane while, breaking open our houſes in a violent way of hoſtilitie (abuſing our wives and our little ones) to take from us the volumes wherein they are preſerved, thinking thereby to keepe us ignorant of the courſes they are reſolved to run, that ſo the viciofity of their owne wills might bee a law unto them, yea they have endeavoured, and that in publique expreſſions, that a man being accuſed by them, ſhould not have liberty to anſwer for himſelfe in open Court. Dealings of like nature wee finde in the place whereof you ſtile us your neighbours, (on whoſe unbridled malice, wee finde a higher then yon putting a curbe) and yet in your account and reckoning wee are the parties that ſtill are doing the wrong, and muſt beare the guilt in your moſt mature ſentence, in whomſoever the ſpot ariſeth and abideth. But the God of vengeance (unto whom our cauſe is referred, never having our protector and Judge to ſeeke) will ſhew himſelfe in our deliverance out of the hands of you all, yea all the houſe of that *Iſhboſheth* and *Mephiboſheth*, nor will he faile us to utter and make knowne his ſtrength (wherein wee ſtand) to ſerve in our age, and to miniſter in our Courſe, to day and to morrow, and on the third day, can none deprive us of perfection, for hee hath taught us to know what it is to walke to day, and to morrow, and the day following

following also, when a perishing estate cannot arise out of *Jerusalem*, though she be the onely one, (yea, none but she) that kills the Prophets, and stones them that are sent unto her.

Behold yee that are looking after, and foretelling so much of the comming of Christ, driving the day before you still for certaine yeares, which some (you say) shall attaine unto, and unto the day of death for the rest, You blinde guides, as your fathers have ever done, so doe yee. Behold wee say, when ever hee appeareth, your house (which yee so glory in) shall bee left unto you desolate, it shall be turned into nothing but desolation and confusion, for *Babel* is its name; Nor shall you see him to your comfort in the glory of his kingdome, untill you can say, Blessed is hee that commeth in the name of the Lord, when the authority and power of man appeares to bee the building of *Babel* unto you, and the name and authority of God onely, to bee that, wherein the blessing consists, and that in such wise also, as is nothing but a way of reproach, in the eyes of all the world, that a King should ride into his chiefe City, so strangely furnished, upon an Asse borrowed, her furniture old, overworn garments, and accompanied with none but poore, meane, excommunicated persons, such as your Elders, Scribes, Pharisees, Lawyers, and all your credible persons among you, make full account they are not onely accursed by, but also destitute and void of all law, when you can finde *Hosanna* in the highest, arising out of such contempt and shame, then, and then onely shall you sing unto him with comfort. In the meane time acknowledge your portion, which is to trust and stay your selves on the name of man, and in his beautie to delight and glory, which shall fade as a leafe, and like the grasse shall wither when it is fitting it self for the oven, such is man whose breath is in his nostrills, and the sonne of sorrie man, in whom you delight to trust, his power and his policy brings forth nothing else, but as you shall see and heare in the Countrey from whence wee are brought. We are not ignorant of those shamefull lies and falsities gone out against us, and the daily wresting of our words, to cast contempt upon us, thinking to bow downe our backs under ignominie and reproach; Neither of those straits & difficulties they have cast us upon, in the things which concerne this present life, to the taking away of the lives of many, if our God had not been seen beyond and above what their thoughts could reach unto (as their owne confession hath witnessed,) doing

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it in such a way of painted hypocrisie and false glosse unto the eye of the world, that wee might seeme unto it self-executioners. We RESOLVE therefore to follow our imployments, and to carry and behave our selves as formerly wee have done (and no otherwise) for wee have wronged no man, unlesse with hard labour, to provide for our families, and suffering of grosse, idle, and idol droanes to take our labour out of the mouths, and from off the backs of our little ones, to lordane it over us.

So that if any any shall goe about to disturbe or annoy us henceforth in our imployments and liberties, which God hath, or shall put into our hands, that can claime no interest in us but by these courses; what their businesse is, wee know by proofe sufficient, to bee nothing else but that ancient errand of *Nimrod*, that rebellious hunter after the precious life; which errand of his shall bee no more delivered unto us in that covert cruelty, and dissembling way of hypocrisie, but in direct and open termes of tyrannie, wee will not bee dealt with as before, wee speake in the Name of our God, wee will not; For if any shall disturb us, as above, secret hypocrites shall become open Tyrants, and their lawes appeare to bee nothing else but meer lusts in the eyes of all the world.

And wherefore doe you murmure among your selves at this saying, thinking it is not a Christian expression? it is because you are ignorant of the crosse of our Lord Jesus, not knowing what it is: Therefore it is, that while you inveigh against such as set up a Statue of wood and stone, to bow downe unto it, and are so vaine, as to crosse the aire, (to use your owne expression) upon the face of infants, when they sprinkle them with water to as great purpose: And in the meane time you preach and set up *Segbnirim* for your crosse, whom you fall downe unto so willingly, and lest you let the word passe without exposition of it unto all, it signifies, Horrour and feare, which is the crosse you hold and teach, and by and thorow which you thinke to bee saved, which is a name given by our Lord unto the Devill himself, as our English translate it, and the Lord never gives name, as an empty title, but according to the nature of the thing named; so that if hee speake, I have said yee are gods, of any besides himselfe, it is to declare, that there is not onely the name, but the very nature of the god of this world, and therefore hee saith, they shall die, even as *Adam*, which aspired and usurped the place of God, and fall also as one of the Princes, even

as one of those princes of *Midian*, whose carkasses became dung for the earth; and hee that gives that title unto any but the true God (that made heaven and earth) in any other sense but as it declares a flat opposition against God, is re-acting that ancient spirit of the serpent, if yee eate, you shall bee as gods, to judge of good and evill, for which all men are set up in that kinde; even so, while you tell the people, that by sorrow, compunction, and anxiety, and trouble of minde, they communicate in the sufferings of Christ, out of which condition their comfort is to flow, is nothing else but to conclude the sonne of God to be Belial, yea, to affirme him to bee *Seghnirim* himself; this doth hee receive at your hands in your ministries, for all your fawning upon him with a kisse; so that if you will know how farre you are from communicating in the death of Christ, take it in this parable, verily, as farre as the weakness of God is stronger then man.

Country-men, for wee cannot but call you so, though wee finde your carriage towards us to bee so farre worse then these Indians, wee advise you to take things together, and what God hath joyned, let none dare to put asunder: So that if you bee ashamed of the crosse in Baptisme, bee ashamed of the Baptisme also, for such as the crosse is, such is the Baptisme, therefore your ancestors goe beyond you in that, to joyne crossing of the aire, and sprinkling with the element of water together, but where ever Baptisme according to the word of Christ is, there is the crosse of Christ also, they can no more bee separated, then his scepter and kingdom can, for where the one is, there is the other also, and as they are co-incident, so are they co-apparant; So that if ever you see the baptisme of Christ truly in use, and exercised upon any, you do as truly see that party partaking and communicating with the crosse and sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to see persons in such estate, and to conclude that afterwards they may bee worthy of censure, yea possibly unto an *anathema maranatha*, is nothing else but to conclude a totall and finall falling away from the grace of God, as your fathers have done before you; for no grace greater then the crosse of our Lord Jesus.

Behold therefore you despisers, the vanity and abomination of all your baptismes, how prejudiciall they are to the crosse of Christ: bee ashamed and return in time, or hee shall bee a swift witnesse against you for ever, when your repentance shall come too late:

lite; but you thinke the crosse of Christ is not, but onely in bowing the back under every burden, and cringing and crouching unto the lust of every man, otherwise his *Shebett* is not fit, nor suiteth it at all with your Regiment, unlesse so servile, that every man may serve his owne lusts of him, to get wealth and honour, friends and allies, by setting bounds and limits unto the holy Word of God; some in the way of one device, and some according to another, and he that will not either walk as a dumbe beast, (worse then *Balaams* Asse) and say nothing, or else give a sense of the holy writings to maintaine the devised platforme, if mercy must bee used, not to hang and burn, yet banishment is ready waiting upon them; therefore shall you know by the Rod of his power that comes out of *Sion*, that hee will bee Ruler, even in the midst of his enemies.

Per us whom you stile your neighbours of *Providence*, you have said it, *Providence* is our Hold, the neighbourhood of the *Samaritan* wee professe. And for the lookings on, and turnings aside of your Priests and Levites, without either unction, or bowells of compassion, all those slaine and wounded in soule amongst you, finding no remedy, doe plainly testifie unto all men the nature of your travailes and neighbourhood what it is, that neither the oyle of those two olive trees, nor the fatnesse of that vine, which maketh glad God and man, is conversant amongst you; your speech to us in generall, not using our names, whereas wee know, it is particulars you aime at, gives us plainely to see, the word *Ælem* revived and living in you, as it stands with its coherence in *Psalme* 58.

John Wickes
Randall Howldon
Robert Potter
Samuel Gorton
John Greene
Francis Weston
Richard Carder
Richard Waterman
Nicholas Power
John Warner
William Waddell

From our Neck: Curo, September 15. 1643.

TO the great and honoured Idol Generall, now set up in the *Massachusets*, whose pretended equity in distribution of Justice unto the soules and bodies of men, is nothing else but a meer device of man, according to the ancient customes & sleights of Satan, transforming himself into an angel of Light, to subject and make slaves of that species or kinde that God hath honoured with his owne Image, read *Dan.* 3. Chap. wherein (if it be not like *Lots* love unto the *Sodomites*) you may see, the visage or countenance of the State, for wee know the sound of all the musick, from the highest note of wind-instruments, sounding, or set up by the breath or voices of men, (to have dominion and rule as though there were no God in heaven or in earth but they, to doe right unto the sonnes of men) unto the lowest tones of the stringed instruments, subjecting themselves to hand or skill of the devised ministrations of men, as though God had made man to bee a vassall to his owne species or kinde, for hee may as well bee a slave to his belly, and make it his God, as to any thing that man can bring forth, yea, even in his best perfection, who can lay claime to no title or terme of honour but what the dust, rottennesse, and putrefaction can affoord, for that of right belongeth solely to our Lord Christ. Woe therefore unto the world, because of the Idols thereof; for Idols must needs be set up, but woe unto them by whom they are erected.

Out of the abovesaid principles, which is the kindome of darkneſſe and of the devill; you have writ another Note unto us, to adde to your former pride and folly, telling us againe, you have taken *Pumham*, with others into your Jurisdiction and Government, and that upon good grounds (as you say:) you might have done well to have proved your selfe Christians, before you had mingled your selves with the heathen, that so your children might have knowne how to put a distinction betwixt yours and them in after times, but wee perceive that to bee too hard a worke for your selves to performe, even in time present. But if you will communicate Justice and Government with that Indian, wee advise you to keep him amongst your selves, where hee, and you may performe that worthy worke: Yet upon a better ground, wee can informe you, that hee may not expect former curtesies from us, for now by your

your Note, wee are reſolved of his breach of Covenant with us, in this his ſeeking and ſubjection unto you, which formerly hee hath alwayes denyed; let him and you know therefore, that hee is to make other proviſion for his planting of corne hereafter, than upon *Mſhawomet*, for wee will not harbour amongſt us any ſuch fawning, lying, and cadaverous perſon as hee is, after knowledge of him, as now in part you have given unto us, onely hee ſhall have liberty ſufficient to take away his corne, habitation, or any of his implements, ſo be it hee paſſe away in peace and quiet, which might in no caſe bee admitted, if it were ſo that wee lived by blood, as you doe, either through inciſion of the noſe, diviſion of the eare from the head, ſtigmatize upon the back, ſuffocation of the veines, through extremity of cold, by your baniſhments in the winter, or ſtrangled in the fleſh with a halter. But we know our courſe, profeſſing the kingdome of God and his righteouſneſſe, renouncing that of darkneſſe and the devill, wherein you delight to truſt, for without the practiſe of theſe things, you cannot kiſſe your hand, bleſſe the Idol, nor profeſſe your vowes and offerings to bee paid and performed. O yee generation of vipers, who hath fore-warned you, or fore-ſtalled your mindes with this, but Satan himſelfe, that the practice of theſe things is to fly from the wrath to come; Whereas the very exerciſe and performance of them, is nothing elſe but the vengeance and wrath of God upon you already, in that mankind, ſo harmonically made in the Image of God, is in the exerciſes of the kingdome, become the torturer and tormentor, yea the executioner of it ſelfe, whilſt thoſe of you that are of the ſame ſtock and ſtem, worke out, yea, and that curiouſly, through the law of your mindes, the death and deſtruction of one another; when as, in the meane time, the ſame nature or ſubſiſtance, in the way of our Lord Jeſus, ſaves both it ſelfe and others. You tell us of complaints made by the Indians, of unjuſt dealings and injuries done unto them, why doe they not make them knowne to us, they never complained to us of any thing done unto this day, but they had ſatisfaction to the full, according to their owne minde, for oft wee know, in what they expreſſe unto us, although our wrongs inſufferable done by them lie ſtill in the deck, for wee know very well, wee have plenty of cauſeleſſe adverſaries, wanting no malice that Satan can inject, therefore wee ſuffer much, that in the perfection and heighth of their plots, they may receive the greater

rebuke and ſhame for their baſeneſſe, in the eies of all the world.

To which end wee have not onely committed our condition unto writings, but them alſo into the hands and cuſtody of ſuch friends, from whom they ſhall not bee taken by any, or by all the governments of this Country, as formerly they have beene, that ſo our wrongs might not appeare; therefore never picke a quarrell againſt us in theſe things, for wee know all your ſtiles and devices, that being you now want ſuch as old malicious *Arnauld*, one of your low ſtringed inſtruments, to exerciſe his fidle amongſt us, and wee are void of your benediction alſo, ſprung out of the ſame ſtock to make rents and diviſions for you to enter to gaine honour unto your ſelves in having patients to heale, though they lie never ſo long under your hands, your chirurgerie muſt bee thought never the worſe. Wanting theſe or ſuch like of the Engliſh, to betray the liberties, God hath given us into your hands, now you worke by your coadjutors, theſe accurſed Indians; but you are deceived in us, we are not a Cope fitted for your ſo eager appetite, no otherwiſe, then if you take it downe it ſhall prove unto you a Cope of trembling, either making you vomit out your owne eternall ſhame, or elſe to burſt in ſunder with your fellow confeſſor for aire, *Judas Iſcariot*.

For Mr. *Winthrop* and his Copartner *Parker*, may not thinke to lay our purchaſed plantation to their Iland ſo neere adjoyning, for they come too late in that point, though *Benedick* hath reported that *Myantonimo*, one of the *Sachims*, of whom wee bought it, ſhould loſe his head for ſelling his right thereof to us.

As alſo a miniſter affirmed that Mr. *Winthrop* ſhould ſay to him, that wee ſhould either bee ſubjected unto you, or elſe removed hence, though it ſhould coſt *Blood*. Know therefore, that our lives are ſet apart already for the caſe wee have in hand, ſo wee will loſe nothing but what is put apart aforehand, bethinke your ſelves therefore what you ſhould gaine by fetching of them, in caſe it were in your power, for our loſſe ſhould bee nothing at all.

For wee are reſolved, that according as you put forth your ſelves towards us, ſo ſhall you finde us transformed to anſwer you. If you put forth your hand to us as country-men, ours are in readineſſe for you: If you exerciſe the pen, accordingly doe wee become a ready writer; If your ſword bee drawne, ours is girt upon our thigh; If you preſent a gun, make haſte to give the firſt fire: for we

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are come to put fire upon the earth, and it is our desire to have it speedily kindled.

For your pursuite of us, still, to come your Courts, to receive your parcells of Justice, undoubtedly either God hath blinded your eyes that you see not our answer formerly given in that point, or else you are most audacious to urge it upon us againe; also you may take notice that wee take it in more disdaine then you could doe, in case we should importune you (yea) the chiefe amongst you, to come up to us, and bee employed according to our pleasure, in such workes as wee thought good to set you about; and for your grant of freedome unto us to come downe to you, and returne in safety, wee cannot sufficiently vilifie this your verball and perfunctory offer, knowing very well, according to the verdict of your owne conscience, that what wrongs soever are passed amongst us since our comming into this Country, you have beene the violent agents, and wee the patients. To feare therefore to come amongst you as such as have done wrong, the cause vanisheth in us, so must the effect also. And to feare to come unto you as tyrants, which your grant must necessarily implies, wee cannot, knowing that hee which is with us, is stronger then hee which is with you.

Also the earth is the Lords and the fullnesse thereof, and when, and where hee shall call wee will goe, but not at the will and lust of sorry men to play their parts with us at their pleasure, as formerly they have done, and as it is apparant you desire to doe, for if your lusts prevailed not over you in that kinde, you might well thinke that wee have better employments then to trot to the *Massachusets* upon the report of a lying Indian, or English either, as your factors and ordinary hacknies doe.

But know this O yee——that so long as wee behave our selves as men, *walking in the name of our God*, where ever wee have occasion to come, if any mortall man whose breath is in his nostrils, dares to call us into question, wee dare to give an answer to him, or them, nor shall wee faile through God, to give testimony even in his conscience of the hope that is in us, whether his question may concerne the rice or succession either of Priest or Peere. In the meane time we sit in safety under the cloudy pillar, while the Nations roare and make a noise about us, and though you may looke upon us with the unopened eye of *Eliahs* servant, thinking us as nothing to those that are against us, yet wherever the cloud rests, wee know the

Lords.

Lords returne to the many thousands of Israel.

In that you say our freedome granted to come to you, takes away all excuse from us, wee freely retort it upon your selves to to make excuses, whose Lawes and proceedings with the soules and bodies of men, is nothing else but a continued art (like the horse in the mill) of accusing and excusing, which you doe by circumstances and conjectures, as all the fathers have done before you, the Diviners and Necromancers of the world, who are gone to their owne place and have their reward; But for the true nature, rise, and distribution of things as they are indeed and shall remaine and abide as a law firme and stable forever, wee say and can make it good, you know nothing at all, therefore such as can delight themselves in preaching, professing, and executing of such things, as must end as the brute beasts doe, nay take them away for present and they have lost their honour, religion, as also their God; let such wee say, know themselves to bee that beast and false prophet, no man of God at all. In the meane time wee looke not on the things that are seene, but on the things that are not seene, knowing the one are temporary, the other eternall. Nor doe wee thinke the better of any man for being invested into places or things that will in time waxe old as doth a garment, neither judge we the worse of any man for the want of them: for if we should we must condemne the Lord Christ, as so many doe at this day.

Wee demand when wee may expect some of you to come to us, to answer and give satisfaction for some of these foule and inhumane wrongs you have done, not to the Indians, but to us your country-men: not to bring in a Catalogue, as we might, take this one particular abuse you are now acting; in that you abet, and backe these base Indians to abuse us. Indeed *Pumham* is an aspiring person, as becomes a Prince of his profession, for having crept into one of our neighbours houses, in the absence of the people, and feloniously rifled the same, hee was taken comming out againe at the Chimney-top: *Soconoco* also hath entred in like manner into one of our houses with divers of his companions, and breaking open a cheft, did steale out divers parcels of goods, some part whereof, as some of his companions have affirmed, are in his custody at this time. Yet we stand still to see to what good issue you will bring your proceedings with these persons, by whom you are so honorably attended in the Court generall, as you call it, and would ho-

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nour us also, to come three or foureſcore miles to ſtand by you and them; wee could tell you alſo that it is nothing with theſe fellowes to ſend our cattle out of the woods with arrowes in their ſides, as at this preſent it appeares in one even now ſo come home, and it is well they come home at all, for ſometimes their wigwams can receive them, and wee have nothing of them at all; yea they can domineere over our wives and children in our houſes, when wee are abroad about our neceſſary occaſions, ſometimes throwing ſtones, to the endangering of their lives, and ſometimes violently taking our goods, making us to runne for it if wee will have it, and if wee ſpeake to them to amend their manners, they can preſently vaunt it out, that the *Maſſachuſets* is all one with them, let the Villanie they doe bee what it will, they thinke themſelves ſecure, for they looke to bee upheld by you in whatever they doe, if you bee ſtronger then them which they have to deale withall, and they looke with the ſame eye your ſelves doe, thinking the multitude will beare downe all, and perſwade themſelves (as well as they may) that you tolerate and maintaine them in other of their daily practices, as lying, Sabbath-breaking, taking of many wives, groſſe whoredomes, and fornications, ſo you will doe alſo, in their ſtealing, abuſing of our Children, and the like, for you have your diligent ledgers amongſt them that inculcate daily upon this, how hatefull wee are unto you, calling us by other names of their owne deviſing, bearing them in hand, wee are not Engliſh men, and therefore the object of envy of all that are about us, and that if wee have any thing to doe with you, the very naming our perſons ſhall caſt our caſe bee it what it will, as it is too evident by the caſe depending betweene *William Arnauld* and *John Warner*, that no ſooner was the name of Mr. *Gorton* mentioned amongſt you, but Mr. *Dudley* diſdainefully asking, is this one, joyned to *Gorton*, and Mr. *Winthrop* unjuſtly upon the ſame ſpeech, refuſed the oath of the witneſſe calling him knight of the poſt: are theſe the wayes and perſons you trade by towards us? are theſe the people you honour your ſelves withall? the Lord ſhall lay ſuch honour in the duſt, and bow downe your backes with ſhame and ſorrow to the grave, and declare ſuch to bee Apoſtatiſers from the truth, and falſifiers of the word of God onely to pleaſe men, and ſerve their owne luſts, that can give thankes in their publique Congregations for their unity with ſuch groſſe abominations as theſe. Wee muſt needes aske you another queſtion from

a Sermon now preached amongſt you, namely how that bloud reliſheth you have ſucked formerly from us, by caſting us upon ſtraights above our ſtrength, that have not beene exerciſed in ſuch kinde of labours, no more then the beſt of you in former times in removing us from our former conveniences, to the taking away of the lives of ſome of us, when you are about your diſhed up dainties, having turned the juice of a poore ſilly Grape that periſheth in the uſe of it, into the bloud of our Lord Jeſus by the cunning skill of your Magicians, which doth make mad and drunke ſo many in the world, and yet a little ſleepe makes them their owne men againe, ſo can it heale and pacifie the conſciences at preſent, but the leaſt hand of God returnes the feares and terrour againe, let our bloud wee ſay preſent it ſelfe together herewith, you hypocrites when will you anſwer ſuch caſes as theſe, and wee doe hereby promiſe unto you, that wee will never looke man in the face if you have not a fairer hearing then ever wee had amongſt you, or can ever expect; And bee it knowne to you all, that weeare your owne Countrymen, whatever you report of us, though the Lord hath taught us a language you never ſpoake, neither can you heare it, and that is the cauſe of your alienation from us; for as you have mouthes and ſpeake not, ſo have you eares & heare not; ſo we leave you to the judgement and arraignment of God Almighty. *The joynt act, not of the Court Generall, but of the peculiar fellowſhip, now abiding upon Mſhawomet.*

Randall Holden.

This they owned in Court though onely Holdens *hand were to it.*

Poſtſcriptum.

VVEE need not put a ſeale unto this our warrant, no more then you did to yours. The Lord hath added one to our hands, in the very concluſion of it, in that effuſion of bloud, and horrible Maſſacre, now made at the Dutch plantation, of our loving Country-men, women, and children, which is nothing elſe, but the compleate figure in a ſhort epitomie of what wee have writ, ſummed up in one entire act, and leſt you ſhould make it part of your juſtification, as you do all ſuch like acts, provided they bee not upon your owne backes, concluding them to be greater ſinners then your ſelves, wee tell you (nay) but except you repent, you ſhall likewiſe periſh.

For

For wee aske you who was the cause of Mistresse *Hutchinson* her departure from amongst you, was it voluntarie? No, shee changed her phrases according to the dictates of your tutors, and confessed her mistakes, that so shee might give you content to abide amongst you, yet did you expell her and cast her away; no lesse are you the originall of her removall from *Aquethneck*, for when shee saw her children could not come downe amongst you, no not to conferre with you in your own way of brotherhood; but be clapt up, and detained by so long imprisonment, rumors also being noised, that the Island should bee brought under your Government, which if it should, shee was fearefull of their lives, or else to act against the plaine verdict of their owne conscience, having had so great and apparant proofe of your dealings before, as also the Island being at such divisions within it selfe, some earnestly desiring it should bee delivered into your hands, professing their unity with you, others denyed it, professing their dissent and division from you, though for what themselves know not, but onely their abominable pride to exercise the like tyranny.

From these and such like workings having their originall in you, shee gathered unto her selfe and tooke up this fiction, (with the rest of her friends) that the Dutch plantation was the Citie of refuge, as shee had gathered like things from your doctrines before, when she seemed to hold out some certaine glimpses or glances of light, more then appeared elsewhere whilst there was such to approve it, in whom there might bee some hope to exalt the instruments thereof, higher then could bee expected from others, but you know very well you could never rest nor bee at quiet, till you had put it under a Bushell, *id est*, bounded and measured the infinite and immense word of God, according to your owne shallow, humane, and carnall capacities, which, howsoever may get the highest seates in your Synagogues, Synods, and Jewish Synedrions, yet shall it never enter into the kingdome of God to be a doore-keeper there. Do not therefore beguile your selves in crying out against the errours of those so miserably falne, for they are no other things which they held but branches of the same root your selves so stoutly stand upon, but know this that now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, whereof you are a part, and every tree that brings not forth fruit according to the law of that good things, which the father knowes, how to give to those that aske it, shall bee cut

downe, and caſt it into the fire: Neither doe you fill up your ſpeeches or tales, (wee meane your Sermons) but that wee affect not the Idolizing of words, no more then of perſons or places. For your ſelves know the word is no more but a bruit or talke, as you know alſo your great and terrible word Magiſtrate, is no more in its originall, then Maſterly, or Maſterleſſe, which hath no great luſtre in our ordinary acceptation. Therefore wee looke to finde and injoy the ſubſtance, and let the ceremony of theſe things, like vapours vaniſh away, though they gather themſelves into clouds, without any water at all in them, the Lord is in the mean time a dew unto *Iſrael*, and makes him to grow like a lillie, caſting out his roots and branches as *Lebanon*.

We ſay, fill not up your talk as your manner is, crying, that ſhee went out without ordinances, for God can raiſe up out of that ſtone, which you have already rejected, as children, ſo alſo miniſters and ordinances unto *Abraham*: You may remember alſo, that every people and poore plantation, formerly fleeced by you, cannot reach unto the hire of one of your Levites, nor fetch in, one ſuch Dove as you ſend abroad into our native Country, to carry and bring you news.

Nor can you charge them in that point, for it was for protection or government ſhee went; And however, hire, in other reſpects, yet the price of a wife, and ſafetie of his owne life adjoyned, carryed a Miniſter along with them of the ſame riſe and breeding together with your owne, to adde unto the blood ſo ſavagely and cauſeleſly ſpilt, with a company of ſuch as you take pleaſure to protect, for they are all of one ſpirit, if they have not hands in the ſame act; we ſay their death is cauſeleſſe, for wee have heard them affirm that ſhee would never heave up a hand, no nor move a tongue againſt any that perſecuted or troubled them, but onely indeavour to ſave themſelves by flight, not perceiving the nature and end of perſecution, neither of that antichriſtian oppoſition and tyrannie, the iſſue whereof declares it ſelf in this ſo and lamentable.

Note, good Reader, that I had order to publiſh theſe two Letters of his, as well *literatim* as *verbatim*, but becauſe their Orthography was ſo bad, as it would ſcarce have been underſtood, I left it to bee corrected by the Printer, but no word to be changed: And the reaſon of the word here left out, is, becauſe it was worne

and

out, and ſo ſoyled in the originall as wee could not read it, and thought good rather to leave it a blanck, then to put in a word of our own that was not theirs.

In the next place, I preſent thee here with certaine Obſervations collected out of both their Letters, by a godly and reverend Divine, whereby the Reader may the better underſtand them, and indeed try the ſpirits of theſe men, whether they be of God or no. Now theſe his Obſervations are ranked into three Heads: *Viz.*

Firſt, their reproachfull and reviling ſpeeches of the Government and Magiſtrates of the *Maſſachuſetts*, which in *Gortons* Booke hee pretends ſo much to honour, becauſe their Government is derived from the State of *England*; and therefore I deſire thee to take the better notice of it.

The ſecond Head of his Obſervations directs thee to their reviling language, not onely againſt that particular Government, and the Magiſtrates of it, but againſt Magiſtracy it ſelfe, and all Civill power.

And in his third Head, thou art directed to take notice of their blaſphemous ſpeeches againſt the holy things of God. All which becauſe they are of great concernment, I beſeech the Reader to take a little paines to compare them with Mr. *Gortons* and his Companies Letters.

Certaine Obſervations collected out of both their *LETTERS*.

1. *Their reproachfull and reviling Speeches of the Government and Magiſtrates of the Maſſachuſets.*

Pag. 9. 1. THey ſay our Magiſtrates did lay their Wiſdome proſtrate, in ſending Letters to them, which they ſcornfully call an irregular Note.

2 That they bare them cauſleſſe enmity, the proofe whereof every occaſion brings forth.

3 They ſlily call them the ſeed of the ancient mother; *i.* of the enmity of the Devill.

4 That they know it is the name of Chriſt call'd upon them, againſt which our Magiſtrates doe ſtrive.

5 That they goe about to hide their ſin, as *Adam*, bearing the world in hand, that they deſire not to contend, but to redreſſe ſomething in point of Civill peace.

6 That they ſtand on tip-toe to ſtretch themſelves beyond their bounds, to ſeek occaſion againſt them.

7 That thoſe who accuſe them, are accuſers of the Brethren, Satan being a lyer, and the father of it; which thing our Magiſtrates cannot know though they be told of it.

Pag. 10. 8 That this act of theirs to treat about their land, is a mappe of their ſpirituall eſtate.

9 That they delight daily to eate of the forbidden fruit (which they call mans wiſdome) out of which our Churches and Common-wealth is formed) to gaine conformity with their maker.

10 They ſcorn at their purity and godlineſſe, telling them that *Cole* and *Arwold* their diſſembling ſubjects, are full of the ſpirit of their purity.

11 They doe not ſay plainly that our Magiſtrates are dogs, but compare them to dogs in reſuming their vomit into its former con-

concoction, by receiving *Cole* and *Arnold* under our jurisdiction.

12 That the whole structure and edifice among us (*i.* the Churches and Common-wealth) is raised up in the spirit of an hireling, and that by submission to the Word of God in fasting, feastfasting, retirednesse for study, contributing, treasuring (*i.* for Church uses in severall Churches) they doe nothing else but bring forth fruit unto death.

13 That farther then the Lord Jesus agrees with riches, honour and ease, our Magistrates minde him not, nay, renounce, and reject him.

14 That they plainely crucifie Christ, and put him to an open shame, which the Apostle, *Hebr. 6.* applies to the worst of men, who commit the unpardonable sin, and for whom men are not to pray. *Pag.* 11.

15 That our Magistrates are as farre from yeelding subjection to Christ, as *Cole* and *Arnold* from being honourable and loyall subjects, whom they call the shame of Religion, the disturbance and disquiet of the place, dissembling subjects, *pag.* 10. as also deboist, rude, inhumane *Nabals*, il-bred, apostatised persons, and selonious, *page* 23. with many such like speeches. *Pag.* 12.

16 That the things of Gods kingdome are infinitely beyond the reach of their spirit, nor can they heare the lively Oracle, and therefore are dumb in telling Justice.

17 That the Magistrates are Jewes according to the flesh, and stout maintainers of the man of Sin.

18 That they know our Magistrates eyes are dazled with envy, and their ears open to lyes. *Pag.* 13.

19 That they judge them before their cause be heard. *Pag.* 15.

20 That in inviting them to their Courts for their equal-ballanced Justice (as they scornfully call it) they thereby strike at Christ their life.

21 That our Magistrates are like *Herod*, whom God smote with wormes, for seeking by an out-reaching and circumventing policy to subdue *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and like *Pontius Pilate*, and the people who out of the Judgement hall are all for mercy, but in it nothing but crucifie him, crucifie him, bee their accusations, and witnesses never so false, so (say they) in your dealings with men in way of the Jewish brotherhood, your law is all for mercy, to redresse, reforme, for preservation of soule and body, doe but enter into the *Pag.* 16.

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Common-hall, then if witneſſes bee but brought in, and oath taken though never ſo untrue, your Conſciences are purged by law, and your power muſt have tribute paid it, ſo far as to brand mens names with infamy, and deprive women and children of things neceſſary.

22 That the profeſſed clemency and mercy of their law, is as much as in them lyes, to ſend both ſoule and body downe to *Sheol* (*i.* the grave and hell) for ever, without redreſſe and all hope of recovery.

23 That their houre and power of darkneſſe is knowne, what it is either to have mens perſons in admiration becauſe of advantage, or elſe to ſeek all occaſions againſt them, with all manner of reproach and ignominie.

Pag. 17. 24 That their wayes are wicked, and to bee abhorred, becauſe in their profeſſed courſe the two witneſſes are ſlaine by them, and put to death; and that all their glory is to keep their corpſe unburied; and theſe two witneſſes are the life and death of the Lord Jeſus.

Pag. 18. 25 That the light appearing among them, is nothing but the light of *Balaam*, ſo that in ſeeing, they ſee not, but communicate onely in the light of that Beaſt who put the witneſſes to death.

26 They tell our Magiſtrates, that they never come amongſt them, but they ſee themſelves in a regiment of groſſe and palpable darkneſſe, and diſcern you to ſcrabble on the wall for the door of *Lots* houſe.

Pag. 19. 27 That they know not what a true witneſſe is.

Pag. 22, 23. 28 That the whole Word of God is a parable to them, as their converſation in all points daily declare it.

29 That they will not come neare our Magiſtrates, untill they know they beare another minde from their neighbours, whom they call robbers, groſſe diſſembling hypocrites, who doe nothing but goe about to eſtabliſh ſuch wayes as may maintaine their owne vicious luſts, whoſe laws are pretended and deviſed, and whoſe practiſes (they ſay) they renounce as diabolicall.

Pag. 24. 30 Yee blind guides (ſay they to our Magiſtrates) as your fathers have ever done, ſo do you.

Pag. 25. 31 You ſet up *Segnirim* (*i.* as themſelves interpret) feare and horrour, or the devill, by, and for the which you hope to bee ſaved.

Pag. 26. 32 That their carriage towards them, is farre worſe then that of

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the *Indians*, whom themselves cry out of to bee thieves and robbers; *pag.* 32.

33 That they are despisers; Behold (say they) yee despisers, the vanity and abominations of all your baptismes.

34 Yee think (say they) that the crosse of Christ is nothing but bowing down the back to every burden, and cringing and crouching to the lust of every man.

35 They call the generall Court, the great Idol Generall, whose pretended equity in distributing Justice is a meer device of man according to the sleights of Satan. *Pag.* 28.

36 They tell the Court, that out of the kingdome of darkneſse and the devill, they had writ another Note to adde to their former pride and folly.

37 For taking *Pumham* and *Sachamonco* (*Indian Sachims*) under their protection; they tell the Court they might have done well to have proved themselves Christians before they had mixt themselves with the heathen; but this was too hard for them to doe.

38 They advise the Court (in scorn) to keep the *Indian* with them, where he and they might perform that worthy work of distributing Justice. *Pag.* 29.

39 They tell the Court that they live by bloud.

40 They tell the Court, they renounce the kingdom of darkneſs, and the devill, wherein the Court delights to trust.

41 They call the Court, O ye generation of Vipers.

42 They tell the Court, they are not a cup fit for their appetite, but a cup of trembling either to make them vomit up their owne eternall shame, or else to make them burst asunder with their fellow confessor *Judas Iscariot*. *Pag.* 30, 31.

43 That the Court is either blind or audacious in desiring them to come for their parcells of Justice, and that they disdain to come to them.

44 They professe they cannot sufficiently vilifie the promise of the Court, that they shall come down to them and return in safety; which they call a verball and perfunctory offer.

45 They tell the Court, that if their lusts had not prevailed over them, they might thinke they had better employment then to trot to *Massachusets* as their factors, and ordinary hackneys doe.

46 They tell the Court that their lawes and proceedings with *Pag.* 32,

the ſoules and bodies of men, is nothing elſe but a continued act of accuſing and excuſing (like the horſe in the mill) which (ſay they) you doe by circumſtances and conjectures, as alſo your fathers have done before you, the Diviners and Necromancers of this world, who are gone to their owne place, and have their reward.

Pag. 33. 47 They accuſe our Magiſtrates for maintaining *Indians* in their lying, ſabbath-breaking, groſſe whoredomes, ſtealing, &c.

Pag. 34. 48 That they are hypocrites, having eyes and ſee not, eares and hear not, mouths and ſpeak not.

Now had theſe men returned a rationall anſwer, it might have been meet perhaps by a few marginall Notes to have returned ſome ſhort Reply; but both their Letters being fraught with little elſe then meer raylings, and reproachfull language, it may be ſufficient thus to preſent them in one view together, that ſo the wiſe and prudent may take a taſte of their ſpirits, and learne from what fire it is that their tongues are thus highly inflamed. If our Courts and Magiſtrates had been in any thing to blame, what a faire and eaſie way had it been to have firſt convinced them, before they had thus bitterly reviled them; but thus to cut and ſhave, and caſt all this filth in their faces without proof or reaſon, argues a bold and inſolent ſpirit fitted to make combuſtions and confuſions in the place where they live. If indeed the Magiſtrates had given them any ſore provocations of returning ill language, there might have been ſome excuſe, but alaſſe, all the cauſe that can bee given of moſt of this ill language, is nothing but writing friendly unto them, to ſend ſome from themſelves to clear up the differences between them and the *Indians*, and to ſhew their juſt title to the land they poſſeſſed: if they had kept this flood within their owne bankes, or been but moderate in revilings, it might have been winkt at; but to fly out into ſuch extremity on ſo ſmall provocation againſt their betters, ſo as to call them Idolls, blind-guides, deſpiſers, generation of vipers, ſuch as crucifie Chriſt, men that ſerve their owne luſts, hypocrites, the ſeed of the Devill, Necromancers, Judaſſes, men that live by bloud, robbers and thieves, men without mercy, among whom Juſtice is dumbe, delighting in the kingdome of darkneſſe and the devill, like *Herod* and *Pilate* in adminiſtring Juſtice, whoſe eyes are dazled with envie, and eares open to lies, ſtout maintainers

of

of the man of Sin, whose wayes are wicked, and to bee abhorred; worse then *Indians*, like dogs, &c. This language speakes loud to what Countrey they belong, and of what race they come.

II. *Their reviling Language not onely against the Magistrates and Government here in particular, but also against Magistracy it self, and all Civill power.*

IF any shall say for them (as themselves now for their owne advantage doe) that this ill language is directed onely against our particular Government and Magistrates, but not against all Civill power it self, the contrary may appear (notwithstanding their dark language, under which sometimes they seek to conceale it) in these particulars.

" 1. They expresly affirm that the Office to minister Justice, be- Pag. 16.
" longs onely to the Lord: and that therefore (from their instance
" of *Herod*) men make themselves Gods, (which themselves inter-
" pret to be onely from the God of this world, and to be in flat op-
" position against God, *pag.* 26.) by ruling over the bodies and e-
" states of men; and that the people receiving *Herod* to Government,
" & crying out that this was the ordinance of God, and not of man,
" that he was immediately smitten of God for it: As also they tell
" us, *p.* 26. that to set up men to Judge of good and evil, for which
" all men are set up in that kinde; that this is re-acting that
" ancient spirit of the Serpent, If yee eate, yee shall bee as
" Gods.

Now this strikes at all Magistracy, for if the office of ministring justice and righteousnesse belongs to God onely, then not unto any man, for that is to make Gods of men; and if to judge betweene good and evill bee to act over againe the ancient spirit of the Serpent, then 'tis not onely unlawfull, but diabolicall, to make Judges of what is right and wrong, good or evill by any man.

If it bee objected, is it possible that any men should bee so grosly blind and wicked, as to abolish all ministration of Justice and righteousnesse?

Answ. 1. These men seeme to acknowledge some way of ministring Justice, but the mysterie lies in that word *Office*, they would

have no man set up in the Office of Magistracy, distinguished from other men, but would have such a power common to the Brethren, so that a man may judge as a brother, but not as an Officer, and therefore they slily justifie him, who called one of our chiefe Magistrates in the open face of the Court, *Brother*, and condemne all our Magistrates, because every man doth not sit there to judge as a Brother, *pag.* 16. and their reason seems to bee drawne from this, because that to bee a Brother, and consequently a coheire with Christ, is a higher sphere then to bee a Civill Officer, as their owne words intimate, *pag.* 16. Now the rule is evident *à quatenus ad omne*, that if ministration of Justice and judgement belongs to no officer, but to a man as a Brother, then to every Brother, and if to every Brother, whether rich or poore, ignorant or learned, then every Christian in a Common-wealth must bee King, and Judge, and Sheriffe, and Captaine, and Parliament man, and Ruler, and that not onely in *New-England*, but in *Old*, and not onely in *Old*, but in all the Christian world; downe with all Officers from their Rule, and set up every Brother for to Rule, which the godly-wise may easily discerne to bee the establishment of all confusion, and the setting up of Anarchy worse then the greatest Tyranny.

2. Although these may beare the world in hand that they allow ministration of Justice and righteousnesse by men as Brethren, yet some Cakes of these mens dough have been so farre leavened and sowred against all Civill power, as that in our Publike Courts, being demanded how murderers, theeves, and adulterers should bee punished if there should bee no Civill power coercive, they openly and roundly answered before many witnesses, that such persons must be left to the judgment of God, both which not long after God himself sate Judge upon, being suddenly and barbarously slaine by the bloody *Indians* in the *Dutch* plantation.

g. 18, 19. "First, they exclaime against us for chooſing men that are honourable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report, or "else they may not rule among us, and this, they say, is of man, "and by man, and putting the second witnesse to death, *viz.* the "death or weaknesse of Christ, or in plaine English, 'tis a killing "of Christ.

Now however the application is made unto our Civill State, yet it manifestly strikes at all Civill States in the world, who shall

choose

chooſe any Officers for rule and government, and adminiſtring of Juſtice, although they bee never ſo honourable, learned, wiſe, experienced, and of good report, and conſequently moſt fit for government; and that in ſo chuſing them they doe put Chriſt himſelf to death. So that theſe men ſtill harp on that ſtring to have every man judge as a Brother, whether honourable or not honourable, whether wiſe or fooliſh, whether of good report or evill report, otherwiſe Chriſts weakneſſe is ſlaine.

3. " They affirme that they who can create, make void, and *Pag.* 22.
" remove offices and officers at their pleaſure, are of that evill one,
" (*i.* the devill) and not of Jeſus Chriſt, but of *Shedim* that waſter
" and deſtroyer of mankind for ever. Their proofe is from that monſtrous interpretation of Yea, yea, and Nay, nay, and they inſtance not onely in Church-officers, but in Common-wealth-officers, whether Rulers or Captaines. Their words are theſe,
" *viz.* Hee with whom it is yea, I am a Ruler, but it was nay when
" I was none at all, renounceth the ſpirit of him that rules in righ-
" teouſneſſe, profeſſing the ſpirit of him that is Prince of the
" power of the aire, who is working now ſo effectually in the
" children of diſobedience; ſo alſo hee with whom it is yea, I
" am captaine, or chief-ſlaughter-man, but it was nay, time was
" that I was none at all, renounceth the victory and ſlaughter
" made by the Captaine and High-prieſt of our profeſſion,
" profeſſing himſelfe to bee a ſuperfluous Giant made in the
" hoſt of the *Philiſtims*, to defie the hoſt of the living God.

By which ſpeeches 'tis evident that they doe not onely oppoſe Civill officers choſen amongſt us here, but all ſuch as are choſen Rulers, Captaines, and Officers at any time, in any place, and were not ſo before; and ſuch they ſay are of the Devill the deſtroyer of man.

4 " They ſay men limit, and ſo deſtroy the holy one of *Iſrael*, *Pag.* 18.
" whoſe life is infinite, and without circumſcription and contain-
" ment (as they call it) if men acknowledge that Chriſt rules on
" earth onely by his Deputies, Lievtenants, and Vicegerents, (*i.* by
" perſons inveſted with Civill authority and office, for ſo they are called by Orthodox Divines) and therefore they ſay that his
" putting Chriſt to death, when onely wiſe, and honourable, and
" learned, and experienced, and men of good report, are choſen
" to rule, becauſe they would have the Power to rule common to

all Chriſtians, but as for the *office* of rule to bee peculiar to none, "and therefore *Pag.*24. they tell us that none ſhall ſee Chriſt come "into his kingdome with comfort, untill the authority and pow- "er of man appeares to be as the building of *Babel*, and the name and "authority of God onely to bee that wherein the bleſſing conſiſts; meaning that 'tis Babyloniſh building which God miſliked, and confounded, for any man in office to rule and governe, becauſe this is to limit the power and life of Chriſt (which is in every brother as well as in any officer) and ſo to kill the life of Chriſt, ſo that if any of them ſay that, although they diſtaſte officers, as Kings and others by election, yet not ſuch as are ſo by hereditary ſucceſſion, they are but words to ſute their owne ends for a time, and to delude others, for if it bee limiting the holy One of Iſrael, a circumſcribing and ſo deſtroying the life of Chriſt which is infinite, for to make him rule by his Deputies and Vicegerents on earth, then not onely Kings and Princes, whether by election or no, but all other civill officers muſt bee abandoned, becauſe the life and power of Chriſt is limited in ſucceſſive as well as in elective Princes, in inferiour as well as in ſuperiour governours, who are Chriſts Deputies, and Vicegerents, and therefore called *Rom.* 13.4. the Miniſters of God either for good or terrour.

Pag. 28. 5. They call our generall Court the Idoll generall, "which is no- "thing elſe but a device of man by the ſleight of Sathan to ſubject "and make ſlaves of that ſpecies or kinde which God hath hono- "red with his owne Image, and they do not onely ſpeake thus "of our Courts as Idols, but they cry out woe unto the world be- "cauſe of the Idols thereof, for Idols muſt needes bee ſet up, but "woe be unto them by whom they are erected, and their reaſon "reacheth to all civill power, (for ſay they) a man may be as well a "ſlave to his belly, and make that his god, as be a vaſſall to his owne "ſpecies, or kinde, or to any thing that man can bring forth even in "his beſt perfection.

There are other evidences of their corrupt minde herein from other paſſages in their letters which they ſpeake under more obſcure cloudes and allegories, but theſe may bee a ſufficient witneſſe againſt them before men and angels, that they abandon all civill authority, although for to ſerve their owne turnes of others or their owne luſts, they ſay they do not: the Apoſtle *Jude* long ſince, tels us of ſuch perſons expreſly who deſpiſe Dominion and ſpeake evill of

Dignities

Dignities, 1. They doe not only deſpiſe theſe or thoſe particular perſons or ſtates that are inveſted with Dominion; but they deſpiſe Dominion it ſelfe and Dignities themſelves, and would have all that power abandoned, whom he calleth *v.*8. filthy dreamers, defiling the fleſh, murmurers and complainers walking after their owne luſts, their mouthes ſpeaking great ſwelling words, *v.* 16. And that it may yet more fully appeare that theſe men doe abandon all civill authority, (although this ſecret they will not impart unto all, but rather profeſſe the contrary) there is extant to bee ſhewen if need were, the writings betweene a prudent man in this Country, and one of the chiefe, and moſt underſtanding of this peculiar fellowſhip (as they ſtile themſelves) wherein hee doth ſtoutly maintaine theſe three aſſertions, 1. That there are no Ordinances. 2. That there are no relations neither in the Common-wealth betweene rulers and ſubjects, nor in the Church between officers and brethren, nor in the families betweene husband and wife, maſter and ſervant, father and ſonne. 3. That there are no inherent graces in Chriſtians. By which principles the world may ſee what theſe men goe about, *viz.* as much as in them lies to bring in a diſorder and confuſion in all ſtates and families, and to open the ſluce to all violence, injuſtice, and wickedneſſe, by not only abandoning, but reproaching and revi- "lingall civill rule and authority upon earth, which they therefore "ſcornefully call a meere device of man, Idols, to be of the Devill, "the deſtroyer of mankinde, and to bee a crucifying of Chriſt in "his life and death, and all this when honourable, wiſe, learned, experienced, well reported perſons are choſen and inveſted with Civill power, whom therefore they would not have maintained, and to whom it is as unlawfull to adminiſter any oath for the ending of civill differences, as to luſt after a woman to commit adultery, *Pag.* 20.

III. *Their blaſphemous ſpeeches againſt the holy things of God.*

1. AGainſt the Churches, they call them deviſed platformes *Pag.* 26. "*Pag.* 26. and that the wiſedome of men is the whole ac- "compliſhment (or that which gives the whole being) of Churches and Common-wealth. *Pag.* 10.

2. "Againſt

Pag. 11. 2. "Againſt the calling of Miniſters, they ſay, that to make their "calling mediate and not immediate, is to make a nullity of Chriſt, "and to crucifie Chriſt, and to put him to an open ſhame, and that "ſuch Miniſters are Magicians, *Pag.* 34.

Now this reflects upon all the Ordinances and ordinary Officers and Miniſters of Chriſt, that either are or have beene in the Church at any time, for although the offices bee immediately from Chriſt, yet their call to exerciſe this office hath beene ever accounted mediate.

Pag. 36. 3. "Againſt the word of God, they call the Sermons of Gods "Miniſters *tales*, or *lies* and *falſhoods*, now had they thus ſpoken upon proofe againſt any particular Sermons, or perſons, the accuſed might have ſpoken for themſelves, but indifferently to revile all Sermons as tales or forgeries, the doctrine generally taught here amongſt us, being no other then that which *Paul* preached at *Epheſus* for three yeares ſpace and upwards, *viz.* repentance towards God, and faith towards the Lord Jeſus, *Act.* 20. being alſo no other then what agrees generally with the harmony of confeſſions of all reformed Churches: to call theſe tales is a word which the Lord Jeſus will certainely remember, unleſſe they repent; the Sermons of the Apoſtles of Chriſt, as well as the doctrine of all reformed Churches, being reproached hereby.

Pag. 26. 4. Againſt the Sacraments: as for baptiſme they doe not onely make the baptizing of Infants as abominable as the croſſe, but all our baptiſmes, "behold (ſay they) the vanity and abomination of all your baptiſmes, and they doe not meane all thoſe baptiſmes which are in uſe amongſt us, but in any Churches of the world at this day; for they acknowledge no other baptiſme then that which is ſpirituall, and hence they ſay, "that when ever you ſee the bap-"tiſme of Chriſt truly in uſe according to the word of God, you "doe as truly ſee that party partaking and communicating with "the croſſe and ſufferings of Chriſt, for theſe are coaparant, now communicating in Chriſts ſufferings in their meaning is onely ſpirituall, and ſo is therefore all baptiſmes. 2. As for the Lords ſupper ſcarce a greater heape of blaſphemies in fewer words can come from the mouth of man againſt that bleſſed Ordinance, wherein Chriſt is ſo manifeſtly and ſweetly preſent, "for they call it your diſht up "dainties, turning the juice of a ſillie grape that periſheth in the uſe "of it, into the bloud of the Lord Jeſus, by the cunning skill of "your

"your Magicians, which doth make mad and drunke so many in "the world.

5. Against repentance and humiliation for sinne, they speake somewhat obscurely, but they that know them may soone understand their meaning, which if it be this, that in a way of compunction and sorrow for sinne, a Christian is not to seeke for consolation and comfort from Christ, and to affirme that this is to make the sonne of God *Belial* and *Segnirim*, the Devill himselfe, (as they interpret it) then tis most grosse blasphemy against not onely the preaching, but practise of repentance and godly sorrow, for which the Apostle rejoiced to see in the Corinthians, *ch.* 7 *v.* 9. 10. and which *James* and *Peter* command and commend, *James* 4 *v.* 9. 10. 1 *Peter* 5. *v.* 6. and which way not so much *Moses* in the law but Christ in the Gospell hath sanctified to finde pardon of sinne 1 *John* 1. 9.

6. Against Christ Jesus himselfe: "they condemne our doctrine "for affirming that Jesus Christ actually dyed and suffered onely in "the dayes of *Herod*, and *Pontius Pilate*, when hee hanged on the "Crosse, and that hee was crucified in truth and substance onely "when hee appeared borne of the Virgin *Mary*: and for this do-"ctrine wee are condemned as Wisards and Necromancers.

Now what is this but to overthrow not onely the being of Christ in the flesh, making him no other then such an one as actually suffered from the begining of the world, and shall doe to the end of it, but also overthrowing all faith and hope of salvation in that Messiah who was incarnate in the dayes of *Herod* and *Pilate*, and in his death and sufferings, and that one perfect offering, then once for all *Heb.* 10 14. The reader may therefore be pleased to take notice that being asked in open Court what was that Christ who was borne of the Virgin and suffered under *Pilate*? one of them answered that hee was a semblance, picture, or a shadow of what was and is done "actually and substantially in Christians; and hence the meaning of the words may bee gathered *Pag.* 11. which otherwise the wise reader may thinke to bee non-sence. *viz.* "that they are Wisards "and Necromancers who raise a shadow without a substance (*viz.* "to make Christ to bee slaine in types since the world began) or "who raise the substance of him who dwels in light without a sha-"dow, (making no more of Christ but a semblance and shadow, as themselves call it) for further explication of which they affirmed

Pag. 26. *Ex* 1. *pag.* They say out of the forbidden fruite i. e. mans wisdom our Churches and Commonwealth is formed. 2. That the whole edifice amongst us is raised up in the spirit of an hireling. 3. That by submission to the word of God in fasting, feasting, retirednesse for study, contributing, treasuring, i.e. for Church uses so much in severall Churches, they doe nothing but bring forth fruite unto death.

Pag. 11.

in open Court that as the Image of God in *Adam* was Christ, ("for "God they said had but one Image) so the losse of this Image by "man was the death of Christ, and therefore 'tis no wonder if they deny Christ to dye actually onely when crucified under *Pontius Pilate* because man sinned actually (which they make to be Christs death) long before; meane while the reader may take notice with a holy astonishment and horrour of the heavy curse of God in blinding these bold men with such a palpable and grosse spirit of delusion and mad phrensies, who will make mans sinne and fall, which is the cause of perdition of men, to be the cause of the Salvation of man, for so Christs death is which they blasphemously make mans sinne to bee.

For further proose that they make little use of Christ and his death, then as hath been said, their owne interpretation of the slaying of the two witnesses, *Pag.* 17. 18. seemeth to confirme, for they make these two witnesses the life and the death of Christ in men, the life of Christ they call his strength, and the death of Christ they call his weaknesse, *viz.* as it is, and appeares in weake, foolish, ignorant, unexperienced, and ill-reported of men, and therefore they blame us for killing of Christs death (for it seemes it is such a death as may bee killed) in that wee chuse honourable, wise, learned men, and of good report to place of rule, excluding others.

Now some of these blasphemies might have beene the better borne if they had let Christ and his death alone, and his word alone, but to call the holy word and Sermons of Salvation *tales*, the Sacrament an abomination, madding and making drunke the world, to call the Ministers of Christ who dispense Word and Sacraments, Necromancers and Magicians, and they who hold and beleive him to bee the Messiah and Christ who suffered under *Pilate*, Wisards, and all this in coole bloud, in the open face of the Court, obstinately refusing to alter a title of what they had writ, let the world judge if ever Antichrist that beast spoken of *Rev.* 13. 5, 6. did ever speake greater blasphemies against God, his name, and tabernacle, and whether such men deserve to live, that live thus to blaspheme; may not such civill states that tolerate such, feare that sentence of God against them as was pronounced against *Ahab* for letting blasphemous *Benhadab* escape with his life, *thy life for his life?* however mens charity may enlarge it self this way, yet let wisedome preserve us and make the wisehearted wary of such impostors, who want not their wiles to say

and

and unſay, as may beſt ſute their advantage, for they can hold forth at ſome time and to ſome perſons, wholeſome and orthodox truths and beare them in hand that this is all that they hold, but they have depths of abomination to give to drinke when they ſee their ſeaſons, in ſuch golden cups; they have hidden ſecrets, which their young Proſelytes ſhall not preſently ſee, much leſſe others; for ſo they tell us *Pag.* 17. "that tis not their purpoſe to open to every one the houſe "of their treaſures, the ſilver and gold, and ſpices, and precious "ointment, nor the houſe of their armour, becauſe they may take "them all as execrable and put them to a prophane uſe, nor can "every ſpirit comprehend the breadth of the land of *Emanuel*, (as "they call it *Pag.* 12.) nor know the Cherubims of glory, nor the "voice of the oracle from the Mercy-ſeate: and indeed their uncouth, tumorous and ſwelling words (as *Jude* cals them *Jude* 16.) like ſwellings, and tumours of the fleſh, are the undoubted ſignes of a ſecret and ſeducing humour, whereby they are fit to deceive the ſimple and infect the ſtrong, if men bee not watchfull.

The Publiſher to the Reader.

THE reaſon wherefore nothing is anſwered to the great charge in his voluminous Poſtſcript, is becauſe it hath beene anſwered already by a former treatiſe printed: but more eſpecially becauſe many of the friends, children and kindred of the dead are in good eſteeme with us, whom I am loath to grieve.

But ſince by courſe thou art next to caſt thine eye Gentle Reader upon the ſumme of a Preſentment which the Court at *Road Iland* received from their Grand Jewry being preſent when *Samuel Gorton* had ſo much abuſed their Government in the face of the Country, yea in open Court, their owne eyes and eares bearing witneſſe thereunto, they I ſay preſented theſe abuſes to the Court, as ſuch which they conceived ought not to bee borne without ruine to their Government, and therefore beſought the bench to thinke of ſome one puniſhment for examples ſake as well as otherwiſe to bee inflicted on the Delinquent.

And therefore that thou maiſt ſee the occaſion thereof, take notice that an ancient woman having a Cow going in the field where

Samuel Gorton had some land. This woman fetching out her Cow; *Gortons* servant maid fell violently upon the woman beating and notoriously abusing her by tearing her haire about her, whereupon the old woman complaining to the Deputy Governour of the place, hee sendeth for the maid, and upon hearing the cause, bound her over to the Court. The time being come and the Court set, *Gorton* appeares himselfe in the defence of his maid, and would not suffer his maid to appeare or make answer, but said expresly she should not appeare, and that if they had any thing against her they should proceed with him. And though hee was lovingly disswaded by some of the Bench not to engage himselfe but let his maid appeare, yet hee refused: but when hee could not bee prevailed with, the action was called and witnesses produced, sworne, and examined: which being done, hee moved for another witnesse to bee called, which hee perswaded himselfe and the Bench was an honest woman and would speake the truth. Now shee being sworne, said, Mr. *Gorton*, I can speake nothing will helpe your maid. And indeed her whole testimony was against her and for the old womans cause, whereupon hee openly said, Take heed thou wicked woman, the earth doth not open and swallow thee up. And then hee demanded of the Court if hee should have equity and justice in his cause or no? To which was answered, if he had either plea or evidence to produce in his maids cause it should be heard. Then hee nominated one *Weekes* who could say something to it. *Weekes* was called and required to take his oath before hee spake; at which *Gorton* and *Weekes* both of them jeered and laughed and told the Court they were skilled in Idols, and that was one, and stood stoutly a long time to make it good. Hereupon some of the Court put him in mind how they had forewarned him of such carriages fearing he would fall into some extreames. At length the Governour gathering up the summe of what was witnessed, commends it to the Jewry. At which time *Gorton* said, the Court had perverted Justice and wrested the witnesses, with very many high and reproachfull termes; and in the midst of his violence throwing his hands about, hee touched the Deputy Governour with his handkerchiefe buttons about his eares (who it seemes sate at a Table with his backe towards him) whereupon the Deputy said, what will you fall about my eares? To which *Gorton* answered I know not whether you have any eares or no? and if you have, I know not where they stand; but I will not

touch

touch them with a paire of Tongues. The Governour often calling upon the Jewry to attend the Cause, was as often interrupted by him. Whereupon many of their Freemen being present, desired the Court they would not suffer such insolencies, professing they were troubled the Court had borne with them so long. For which in briefe, hee was committed, but when the Governour bade the Marshall take him away, hee bade take away *Coddington*, which was their Governours name: a thing I thought meet to explaine, lest thou shouldst not understand it by the Heads of the Presentment here following, abusing all and every particular of the Magistrates with opprobrious terms. But note when hee was committed upon his mutinous and seditious speeches, *Weekes*, *Holden*, &c. his abettors, stopped the way with such insolency, as the Governour was forced to rise from the Bench, to helpe forward the Command with his person, in clearing the way, put *Weekes* in the stocks, and was forced to command a guard of armed men to preserve themselves and the peace of the place: And this they did because of some fore-going jealousies; and now taking occasion to search the houses of that party that adhered to him, they found many of their peeces laden with bullet: and by meanes hereof they were forced to continue their guard, whilst upon their banishment they were forced from the Island.

And however it were enough for a Book alone to relate all the particulars of his insolent carriage, yet take notice onely of two or three particulars: 1 When hee was censured to bee whipt and banished, he appealed to *England*; they asked to whom? Hee said with a loud voice, *To King Charles*. They told him, hee should first have his punishment, and then afterwards hee might complain. To which hee replyed, take notice *I appeale to King Charles, Cæle*, or *Selah*; the party who was present told mee hee could not tell which, but that word was spoken with an extraordinary high and loud voice.

A second thing to be observed, was, that after hee had been so deservedly whipt, some of his faction said, Now Christ Jesus had suffered.

And thirdly, although the weather was very cold, the Governour going away after execution of Justice upon him, yet Horan ac- ed way after the Governour, drawing a chaine after one of his legs, the upper part of his body being still naked, and told him, He had but

but lent him this, and hee ſhould ſurely have it again. All this I had from a man of very good repute, who then lived with them, and was an eye and eare witneſſe to all theſe proceedings.

In the next place take notice good Reader, that when hee went from hence well whipt, as before, and entred upon his baniſhment, the place hee went to (in a ſharpe ſeaſon) was a Town called *Providence*, where Mr. *Roger Williams*, & divers others lived, who in regard of the ſeaſon, entertained them with much humane curteſie, but the *Gortonians* anſwered all like *Æſops* ſnake, as thou maiſt read by the ſeverall Letters of the chief Inhabitants of that place, by a notorious faction there alſo by them raiſed, to the great diſtraction and amazement of the Inhabitants, as appeareth by their doleſull complaints in their own Letters, a true Copy whereof I preſent unto thee.

The ſum of the Preſentment of Samuel Gorton *at* Portſmouth *in* Roade-Iſland, *by the Grand Jury.*

FIrſt, that *Samuel Gorton* certaine dayes before his appearance at this Court, ſaid, the Government was ſuch as was not to bee ſubjected unto, foraſmuch as it had not a true derivation, becauſe it was altered from what it firſt was.

2 That *Samuel Gorton* contumeliouſly reproached the Magiſtrates calling them Juſt Aſſes.

3 That the ſaid *Gorton* reproachfully called the Judges, or ſome of the Juſtices on the Bench (corrupt Judges) in open Court.

4 That the ſaid *Gorton* queſtioned the Court for making him to waite on them two dayes formerly, and that now hee would know whether hee ſhould bee tryed in an hoſtile way, or by Law, or in ſobriety.

5 The ſaid *Gorton* alledged in open Court, that hee looked at the Magiſtrates as Lawyers, and called Mr. *Eaſton*, Lawyer *Eaſton*.

6 The ſaid *Gorton* charged the Deputy Governour to bee an Abetter of a Riot, Aſſault, or Battery, and profeſſed that he would not touch him, no not with a paire of tongues: Moreover he ſaid, I know not whether thou haſt any eares, or no: as alſo, I think thou knoweſt

knowest not where thy ears stand, and charged him to be a man unfit to make a Warrant.

7 The said *Gorton* charged the Bench for wresting witnesse, in this expression, I professe you wrest witnesse.

8 The said *Gorton* called a Freeman in open Court (saucy Boy, and Jack-an-Apes,) and said, the woman that was upon her oath, would not speake against her mother, although she were damned where she stood.

9 The said *Gorton* affirmed that Mr. *Easton* behaved himselfe not like a Judge, and that himself was charged either basely or falsly.

10 The said *Gorton* said to the Bench, Ye intrude Oaths, and goe about to catch me.

11 The said *Gorton* being reproved for his miscarriage, held up his hand, and with extremity of speech shooke his hand at them, insomuch that the Freemen present said, Hee threatens the Court.

12 The said *Gorton* charged the Court with acting the second part of *Plymouth* Magistrates, who, as hee said, condemned him in the Chimney corner, ere they heard him speak.

13 The said *Gorton* in open Court did professe to maintaine the quarrell of another being his Maid-servant.

14 The said *Gorton* being commanded to prison, imperiously resisted the authority, and made open Proclamation, saying, take away *Coddington*, and carry him to prison; the Governour said again, all you that owne the King, take away *Gorton* and carry him to prison; *Gorton* replyed, all you that own the King, take away *Coddington*, and carry him to prison.

William Dyre Secretary.

Mr. Roger VVilliams *his Letter unto Mr.* VVinthrop, *concerning* Samuel Gorton.

Providence 8. 1mo. 1640.

MAfter *Gorton* having foully abused high and low at *Aquedneck*, is now bewitching and benadding poore *Providence*, both with his uncleane and foule censures of all the Ministers of this Country, (for which my self have in Christs name withstood him) and also denying all visible and externall Ordinances in depth of

Familisme,

Familisme, against which I have a little disputed and written, and shall (the most High assisting) to death: As *Paul* said of *Asia*, Lo *Providence* (almost) All suck in his poyson, as at first they did at *Aquednick*. Some few and my selfe withstand his Inhabitation, and Towne-priviledges, without confession and reformation of his uncivill and inhumane practises at *Portsmouth*: Yet the tyde is too strong against us, and I feare (if the framer of Hearts helpe not) it will force mee to little Patience, a little Isle next to your Prudence. Jehovah himselfe bee pleased to bee a Sanctuary to all whose hearts are perfect with him; In him I desire unfainedly to be

Your Worships true and affectionate

Roger Williams.

Providence this 17. of November, Anno 1641.

To the Honoured Governour of Massachusett, together with the Worshipfull Assistants, and our loving Neighbours there.

WEe the Inhabitants of the Town abovesaid, having faire occasions, counted it meet and necessary to give you true intelligence of the insolent and riotous carriages of *Samuel Gorton* and his company, which came from the Island of *Aquednick*; which continue still as sojourners amongst us; together with *John Greene*, and *Francis Weston*, two which have this long time stood in opposition against us, and against the faireſt and most just and honest ways of proceedings in order and Government, that wee could rightly and truly use, for the peaceable preservation and quiet subsistence of our selves and families, or any that should have faire occasion to goe out or come in amongst us. Also six or seven of our Townsmen which were in peaceable Covenants with us, which now by their declamations doe cut themselves off from us, and jointly under their hands have openly proclaimed, to take party with the afore-named Companies, and so intend for ought wee can gather, to have no manner of honest order, or government either over them or amongst them, as their writings, words, and

actions

actions doe most plainly shew. It would bee tedious to relate the numberlesse number of their upbraiding taunts, assaults, and threats, and violent kinde of carriage daily practised against all that either with care or counsell seek to prevent or withstand their lewd licentious courses. Yet in briefe to commit some few of them to your moderate Judgements, lest wee our selves should bee deemed some way blinded in the occurrences of things, here is a true Copy of their Writing inclosed, which *Francis Weston* gave us the 13. of this present Moneth, they having also set up a Copy of the same on a tree in the street, in stead of satisfaction for fifteene pounds, which by way of arbitration of eight men orderly chosen, and all causes and reasons that could bee found, daily and truly examined, and considered jointly together, when hee the said *Francis Weston* was found liable to pay, or make satisfaction in Cattle or Commodities, but on the 15. of this present moneth, when wee went orderly, openly, and in a warrantable way to attach some of the said *Francis Westons* Cattle, to drive them to the Pound, to make him, if it were possible, to make satisfaction: which *Samuel Gorton* and his company getting notice of, came and quarrelled with us in the street, and made a tumultuous Hubbub; and although for our parts wee had before-hand most principally armed our selves with patience, peaceably to suffer as much injury, as could possibly bee born, to avoid all shedding of blood, yet some few drops of blood were shed on either side: And after the tumult was partly appeased, and that we went on orderly into the Corne-field, to drive the said Cattle, the said *Francis Weston* came furiously running with a flayle in his hand, and cryed out, Helpe Sirs, helpe Sirs, they are going to steale my Cattle, and so continued crying till *Randall Holden*, *John Greene*, and some others came running and made a great outcry, and hollowing and crying, Theeves, theeves, stealing cattle, stealing cattle, and so the whole number of their desperate company came riotously running, and so with much striving in driving, hurried away the cattle, and then presumptuously answered, they had made a rescue, and that such should bee their practise if any men at any time, in any case attach any thing that is theirs. And fully to relate the least part of their such like words and actions, the time and paper would scarce bee profitably spent, neither need wee to advise your discretions what is likely to bee the sad events of these disorders, if their bloody currents bee not either stopped,

or turned some other way. For it is plaine to us, that if men should continue to resist all manner of order, and orderly answering one of another in different cases, they will suddenly practise, not onely cunningly to detaine things one from another, but, openly in publike, justly or unjustly, according to their own wills disorderly take what they can come by; first pleading necessity, or to maintaine wife and family; but afterwards boldly to maintain licentious lust, like savage brute beasts, they will put no manner of difference between houses, goods, lands, wives, lives, blood, nor any thing will bee precious in their eyes: If it may therefore please you of gentle curtesie, and for the preservation of humanity and mankinde, to consider our condition, and lend us a neighbour-like helping hand, and send us such assistance (our necessity urging us to bee troublesome unto you) to helpe us to bring them to satisfaction, and ease us of our burden of them, at your discretions; wee shall evermore owne it as a deed of great charity, and take it very thankfully, and diligently labour in the best measure wee can, and constantly practise to requite your loving kindnesse, if you should have occasion to command us, or any of us in any lawfull designe: And if it shall please you to send us any speedy answer, we shall take it very kindly, and bee ready and willing to satisfie the Messengers, and ever remaine

Your loving Neighbours, and respective Friends

Joshuah Winsor
Benedict Arnold
William Mean
William Hawkings
Robert West
William Field
William Harris
William Wickenden
William Reinolds
Thomas Harris
Tho. Hopkins mark
Hugh Bennit
William Carpenter.

Providence

Providence the 25. of the 3. month, 1641.

To the reſt of the five Men appointed to manage the affaires of our Towne aforeſaid, Theſe are further to give you to underſtand; Viz. That

I Doe not onely approve of what my neighbours before me have written and directed their Reaſons to a ſerious conſideration with us, concerning *Samuel Gorton* and his Company: but this much I ſay alſo, that it is evident and may eaſily bee proved, that the ſaid *Samuel Gorton* nor his Company are not fit perſons to bee received in, and made members of ſuch a body, in ſo weake a ſtate as our Town is in at preſent.

My Reaſons are, *Viz.*

Firſt, *Samuel Gorton* having ſhewed himſelfe a railing and turbulent perſon, not onely in and againſt thoſe ſtates of Government from whence hee came, as is to bee proved; but alſo here in this Towne ſince hee have ſojourned here; Witneſſe his proud challenge, and his upbraiding accuſations in his vilifying and opprobrious terms of, and againſt one of our Combination moſt wrathfully and ſhameleſly reviling him, and diſturbing of him, and medling with him, who was imployed and buſied in other private occaſions, having no juſt cauſe ſo to revile and abuſe him, ſaying alſo to him (and that of another ſtate) in a baſe manner, they were like ſwine that held out their Noſe to ſuck his blood, and that now hee and the reſt of his Company would goe and wallow in it alſo; which are indeed words unſufferable; and alſo deſpitefully calling him Boy, as though hee would have challenged the field of him, in ſuch an inhumane behaviour as becomes not a man that ſhould bee thought to be fit by any reaſonable men to be received into ſuch a poor weak ſtate as we are in at preſent.

Secondly, another of his Company, one who is much in eſteem with him, who openly in a ſcornfull and deriding manner, ſeeing one of the five men that was choſen by the Towne, and betruſted in the Towne affaires, comming towards him in the ſtreet, hee asked of one that ſtood by him, who that was; the other anſwered him, it was one of the five men appointed for managing of our Towne

affaires, or the like: Yea, said hee, Hee lookes like one of the five, which words import not onely a scorning and deriding of his person of whom then hee spake, but also a despising and scorning of our Civill State, as it were trampling it under foot, as they had done by other States before they came hither, who were of greater strength then wee are; for which cause I cannot see such persons to bee fit to bee received into such a State as our Towne is.

Thirdly, I cannot finde these men to bee reasonable men in their suite unto the Towne, to be received in as Townsmen, seeing they have already had a plaine denyall of their request, and that by the consent of the major part of the Towne, or very neare, &c. and are yet unanswerable; and also that they seeing that their comming to our Towne, hath brought the Towne into a hurry, almost the one halfe against the other, in which estate no Towne or City can well stand or subsist; which declareth plainly unto us, that their intent is not good, but that their abode so long here amongst us, is in hope to get the victory over one part of the Town, but specially of those that laid the first foundation of the place, and bought it even almost with the losse of their lives, and their whole estates, and afterwards to trample them under their feet, as some of their words hold forth, or else to drive them out into the same condition, to seek out a new *Providence*, and to buy it with the like hardnesse as they first bought this place; these, and many other like reasons that may be shewed, declare that they are not fit persons to be received into our meane and weake State.

Fourthly, and seeing hee who is so well knowne to bee the ring-leader unto the breach of peace, that have been so notoriously evill to bee a trouble of Civill States where hee hath lived, that are of farre greater force then wee are of, specially that State who have their Commission and Authority from the Higher Powers; what may wee then expect if he could get himself in with, and amongst so many as wee see are daily ready to tread us under their feet, and his, whom he cals friends, &c. Surely, first a breach of our civill peace, and next a ruine of all such as are not of his side, as their daily practise doth declare; *Ergo*, they are not fit persons to be received into our Towne, &c.

Object. If it bee objected, as some have blasphemously said, that wee are persecutors, and doe persecute the Saints, in not

receiving

receiving of them into our Towne-fellowſhip, &c.

Anſw. To this I anſwer, there cannot bee proved the leaſt ſhew of any perſecution of thoſe perſons, either by us, or by any other amongſt us to our knowledge. For 1 they have quiet abode amongſt us, none moleſting or troubling of them, nor any thing they have. 2 It cannot bee proved but by their owne relation, the which hath been diſproved; that they were ſent out from thoſe places from whence they came for Religion, neither are they medled with here for any ſuch matter, but rather that they themſelves in their bravery are more ready to meddle with others. 3 They themſelves and others of their followers, have rather been troublers and perſecutors of the Saints of God that lived here before they came, and doe but waite their opportunity to make themſelves manifeſt in that they intend; *Ergo*, it cannot bee truly ſaid of any, that any perſecution is offered by us unto them, if it could poſſibly be ſaid of them that they are Saints.

Obj. But if it be further objected, that we doe not give them the liberty of men, neither doe wee afford them the bowells of mercy, to give them the meanes of livelihood amongſt us, as ſome have ſaid.

Anſw. To this I ſay; 1 there is no State but in the firſt place will ſeeke to preſerve its owne ſafety and peace. 2 Wee cannot give land to any perſon by vertue of our combination, except wee firſt receive them into our ſtate of combination, the which wee cannot doe with them for our owne and others peace-ſake, &c. 3 Whereas their neceſſity have been ſo much pleaded, it is not knowne that ever they ſought to finde out a place where they might accommodate themſelves, and live by themſelves, with their friends, and ſuch as will follow after them, where they may uſe their liberty to live without order or controule, and not to trouble us, that have taken the ſame courſe as wee have done for our ſafety and peace, which they doe not approve nor like of, but rather like beaſts in the ſhape of men to doe what they ſhall thinke fit in their owne eyes, and will not bee governed by any State. And ſeeing they doe but here linger out the time in hope to get the day to make up their penny-worths in advantage upon us, we have juſt cauſe to heare the complaints of ſo many of our Neighbors that live in the Town orderly amongſt us, and have brought in their complaints, with many reaſons againſt them, and not to admit them, but anſwer them as unfit

persons to bee received into our meane State, &c.

Now if these Reasons and much more which have been truly said of them, doe not satisfie you, and the rest of our neighbours, but that they must be received into our Towne-state, even unto our utter overthrow, &c. then according to the order agreed upon by the Towne, I doe first offer my house and land within the liberty of the Towne unto the Towne to buy it of mee, or else I may, and shall take liberty to sell it to whom I may for mine advantage, &c.

William Arnold.

John Carter Brown Library

A PARTICVLAR ANSWER TO THE Manifold Slanders and abominable Falsehoods contained in a Book, called *Simplicities defence against Seven-headed Policy*: Wherein *Samuel Gorton* is proved a disturber of Civill Societies, desperately dangerous to his Country-men the English in *New-Engl.* and notoriously slanderous in what he hath Printed of them.

John Carter Brown Library

WHEN first I entertained the desires of the Countrey to come over to answer the complaints of *Samuel Gorton*, &c. and to render a reason of the just and righteous proceedings of the Countrey of *New-Engl.* in the severall parts of it, against him being a common disturber of the peace of all Societies where hee came, witnes *New-Plymouth*, 2 *Roade-Island*, 3 *Providence*, and lastly the *Massachusets*, being the most eminent; I little thought then to have appeared in print: but comming into *England*, and finding a Booke written by Mr. *Gorton* called *Simplicities defence against Seven-headed policy*: *or, A true complaint of a peaceable people, being part of the English in* New-Engl. *made unto the State of Old*-England, *against cruell persecutors united in Church-Government in those parts.* I then conceived my selfe bound in duty to take off the many grosse and publike scandalls held forth therein, to the great amazement of many tender consciences in the Kingdom, who are not acquainted with his proud

Sam. Gorton common distu ber of the Civ peace in all th Societies hee there lived in

proud and turbulent carriage, nor see the Lion under his Lambeskinne coate of *simplicity and peace*. The Lord knowes how unwilling I was personally to engage: and I trust hee will also guide mee in answering his booke, as I shall bee farre from bitternesse: tis true, time was when his person was precious in mine eies, and therefore I hope and desire onely to make a righteous and just defence to the many unworthy things by him boldly, ignorantly, proudly, and falsly published to the great dishonour of God in wronging and scandalizing his Churches, which the Lord Jesus Christ will not leave unpunished.

I know the world is full of controversies and tis my great griefe to see my dear native Country so engaged in them, especially one godly person against another. 'Tis my present comfort I come not to accuse any; but to defend *New-England* against the injurious complaints of *Samuel Gorton, &c.* but as it comes to passe oftentimes that men wound others unavoidably in defending their persons from the violent assaults of such as draw upon them, which otherwise they would never have done: so if Mr. *Gorton* receive any such hurt (which is unavoidable) hee becomes an accessary thereunto: by forcing mee to defend the Country, without which I should bee unfaithfull.

I know the world is too full of bookes of this kinde, and therefore however I am unfitted of many things I have and could procure at home would well become a relation of the late and present state of *New England*, yet I shall now onely with as great breviry as may bee give answer to such injurious complaints as hee maketh of us. And however his Title, Preface, and every leafe of his booke may bee justly found fault with, I shall clearely answer to matters of fact, such as hee chargeth the severall Governments withall, so as any indifferent Reader may easily discerne how grosly wee are abused, and how just and righteous censures were against him for disturbing the civill peace of all societies where hee came, in such a manner as no Government could possibly beare: and for the *blasphemies* for which hee was proceeded against at *Massachusetts*, they fell in occasionally by his owne meanes without any circumstance leading thereunto.

Pag. 1. And first whereas hee accuseth us in the first page of his booke to goe over to *suppresse heretickes*. 'Tis well knowne we went thither for no such end laid downe by us, but to enjoy those liberties the Lord

Lord Jesus Christ had left unto his Church to avoid the Episcopall tyranny, and the heavy burthens they imposed, to which sufferings the kingdome by this ever to bee honoured Parliament have and doe beare witnesse to, as religious and just. And that wee might also hold forth that truth and ancient way of God wherein wee walke, which Mr. *Gorton* cals heresie. Next in the same *Pag.* hee chargeth us with *affection of Titles, &c.* To which I answer, either we must live without Government, or if wee have Governours wee must give them wee call such Titles as are sutable to their offices and places they beare in Church and Common-wealth, as Governours and Assistants, Pastors, Teachers, Rulers, Deacons, &c. these are our highest Titles we give.

In his second *pag.* hee chargeth the *Massachusets to unite with other Colonies to the end they might bathe themselves in bloud and feed themselves fat with the lives of their brethren, &c.* This is a notorious slander. 'Tis true that the *Massachusets* new *Plimouth, Conecticut,* and *New-haven,* I meane the severall Colonies there entred into a civill combination, and are called by the name of the *United Colonies,* and this was occasioned by a generall conspiracy of the Indians against the body of the English there seated, together with the distracted condition of *England,* from whom we could expect no helpe at that time. But Mr. *Gorton* and his company fell at that time into more then ordinary familiarity with the *Nanhiggonset Indians,* who were the principal contrivers of the Villany; who where they could not draw others to them by force or flattery, they did it by large gifts, &c. as I could prove by many testimonies of the Indians, many hundred miles asunder from each other, in which designe had not the finger of God in much mercy prevented, I had beene the first had fallen; which I forbeare to relate here, being what I now doe, is but an answer to his invective. *Pag.* 12.

Next in the same *pag.* hee tels us at his landing *how hee found his Country men at great variance at Boston in point of Religion;* But had not hee holpen to blow the bellowes the flame might never have beene so great. And whereas hee said that *Mr. Williams was banished thence for differing from us being a man of good report, &c.* In answer, 1. take notice, I know that Mr. *Williams* (though a man lovely in his carriage, and whom I trust the Lord will yet recall) held forth in those times *the unlawfulnesse of our Letters Patents* from the King, &c. would not allow the *Colours of our Nation,* denyed the *lawfulnesse*

nesse of a publique oath as being needlesse to the Saints, and a prophanation of Gods name to tender it to the wicked, &c. And truly I never heard but he was dealt with for these and such like points: however I am sorry for the love I beare to him and his, I am forced to mention it, but God cals mee at this time to take off these aspersions.

In *pag.* 3. hee mentions the proceedings of the *Massachusets* against Mr. *John Wheelwright &c.* Had it beene the will of God I would those differences had never been: But the maine difference was about a Petition by way of Remonstrance, which the Government tooke very offensive: But Mr. *Wheelwright* and they are reconciled, hee having given satisfaction, &c. In the same *pag.* hee wrongs the doctrine of our Churches, which is well knowne to bee sound. But whereas hee tels us in the same *pag.* of denying *cohabitation, and of whippings, confinement, imprisonment, chaines, fines, banishment.* I confesse all these things befell him, and most justly: for hee was bound to the good behaviour at *Plimouth* and brooke his bonds in the face of the Court, whipt and banished at *Roade Island* for mutinie and sedition in the open Court there: also at *Providence* as factious there though his party grew greater then Mr. *Williams* his better party, as appeares by his and their sad letters to the Government of the *Massachusets* for helpe and advice; and afterwards banished the *Massachusets*: all which appeares in another place of this booke, and the just causes of their proceedings annexed thereunto. Lastly in this *pag.* hee tels us of his hardship divers nights together, that himselfe and the rest of his mutinous companions, as *Weekes, Holden, &c.* endured, which was just with God and man, for extream evils must have extreame remedies, and yet tis well knowne tis not a full dayes journey from *Roade Island* to *Providence*. And whereas a stranger would thinke hee was then forced to goe to *Nanhiganset-Bay* amongst the Indians, hee went not from *Providence* till they were as weary of these Mutineeres as either *Plimouth* or *Roade Island* had beene before them.

And because hee often mentioneth the hard measure hee received at *Plimouth*, still carrying it on as if difference in Religion had beene the ground of it: I thought good here to give the Reader to understand what was the ground of his troubles there, that so all men may know what Religion this man is of: for the tree is best knowne by its fruite. The first complaint that came against him for which hee was brought before authority, was by Mr. *Ralph Smith* a Minister,

who

who being of *Gortons* acquaintance received him with his family into his house, with much humanity and Christian respect, promising him as free use of it as himselfe, &c. but Mr. *Gorton* becomming troublesome, (after meanes used to remove the offences taken by Mr. *Smith*, but to no purpose, growing still more insolent) Mr. *Smith* desired him to provide elsewhere for himselfe: but *Gorton* refused, saying, hee had as good interest in the house as Mr. *Smith* had. And when hee was brought before Authority, stood stoutly to maintaine it to our amasement. But was ordered to depart and provide other wayes by a time appointed. And not long after there comming a woman of his acquaintance to *Plimouth*, divers came to the Governour with complaints against her, being a stranger, for unworthy and offensive speeches and carriages used by her. Whereupon the Governour sent to her to know her businesse, &c. and commanded her departure, and ordered the Sea-man that brought her, to returne her to the place from whence shee came, at his next passage thither. But *Gorton* said shee should not goe, for hee had occation to employ her, &c. Hereupon the Governour (it being in the time of a Court) sent for him, and because hee had hidde her, stood in justification of his practise and refused to obey the command of the Court (who seconded the Governours order.) He was committed till hee could procure sureties for his good behaviour till the next Court which was a generall Court, and there to answer to this contempt. The time being come and the Court set, *Gorton* was called; But the Governour being wearied with speech to other causes, requested one of his Assistants who was present at his commitment and privy to the whole cause to declare the same. This Assistant no sooner stood up to shew the Country the cause of his bonds in the great affront hee had given the Government, but *Gorton* stretching out his hand towards his face said with a loud voice, *If Satan will accuse the brethren, let him come downe from Jehoshuahs right hand and stand here.* And that done, in a seditious manner turned himselfe to the people and said, with his armes spread abroad; *Yee see good people how yee are abused! Stand for your liberty; And let them not bee parties and judges*, with many other opprobrious speeches of that kinde. Hereupon divers Elders of Churches being present, desiring leave of the Governour to speake, complaining of his seditious carriage, and requested the Court not to suffer these abuses, but to inflict condigne punishment. And yet notwithstanding all wee did

to him was but to take the forfeiture of his foresaid bonds for his good behaviour. Nay being but low and poore in his estate, wee tooke not above eight or ten pounds of it, lest it might lie too heavy upon his wife and children. But he must either get new sureties for the behaviour till the next generall Court, or such time as he departed the Government, or lie in prison till hee could: now hee knowing his outragious passions which hee could not restraine, procured suretles, but immediately left *Plimouth* and went to *Roade Island*, where upon complaint of our persecutions hee found present reliefe there: yet soone afterward he abused them in a greater measure and had heavier yet too light a punishment inflicted on him, and all for breach of the civill peace and notorious contempt of Authority without the least mention of any points of Religion on the Governments part, but as before.

And whereas in *pag.* 4. Mr. *Gorton* further accuseth us that they were deprived and taken away from their quiet possessions, &c. Such was his carriage at *Plimouth* and *Providence* at his first settling as neither of the Governments durst admit or receive him into cohabitation, but refused him as a pest to all societies. Againe in the same *pag.* he accuseth *Massachusets* and *Plimouth* to have denyed them to be in our Government, *but when wee perceived the place to bee a refuge for such as were oppressed then, &c.* 'Tis true that *Plimouth* gave way to Mr. *Williams* and his company to sit downe at *Providence* and have never molested them to this day, but refused *Gorton* and *Weekes*, &c. upon *Weekes* his sollicitation when I was at *Providence* for the reasons before mentioned, &c. And for those particular relations he makes of *Robert Cole*, *William Arnold*, and *Benedict* his sonne, I wave, as not being so well acquainted with their cases, but see hee writes with a venomous pen; onely take notice he would make it a great crime in them to trade on the Sabbath (as it is) when himselfe at that time denyed the sanctification of it.

In *pag.* 5. hee complaines that powder was traded to the Indians and denyed to them. *Answ.* If it were traded to the Indians, for my part I approve it not, it being against the expresse law of the Country, and a large penalty annexed: but there was good reason to refuse it to them which held such familiarity with Malignant Indians especially during the time of their confederacy against us.

In *pag.* 6. he speakes as if hee had beene under some censure of the

Massachusets

Massachusets at the time of the warrant there by him specified, how truly copied I know not: but am sure at this time he was personally under no censure of theirs.

In *pag.* 7. hee accuseth Magistrates and Ministers for bringing in all the accusations that came in against them. Who but publique persons should take notice of publique insolencies? And as for Mr. *Collens* his story I am a stranger to, but beleeve it is misreported as well as others.

In *pag.* 8. hee manifests hee durst not live under a forraigne Prince, meaning the Dutch, having never been false to his King and Country, &c. with many ignorant swelling words; as if it were treason to ones Prince to live under a forraigne State though an Ally. And in the same *pag.* hee would lay the death of Mistris *Hutchenson* who was mother in law to Mr. *Collens*, on us: although they went from *Road Island* which is not under the *Massachusets* where shee had lived some yeares after her remove from the *Bay*, and not from the *Massachusets* to the Dutch of her owne accord where they were cut off by the Indians.

In *pag.* 9. he shewes how they bought lands of *Myantonimo* Prince of those parts. *Answ.* 1. Hee was not the Prince of that part as was proved publiquely at *Massachusets* himselfe being present. 2. He had no proper right in it, as is shewed at large elsewhere.

In the same *pag.* he beginneth a large letter full of railing blasphemies which continueth to *pag.* 31. and however it bee not exactly set downe as it was sent, yet I admire at Gods providence, for hee is falne into the snare he laid, this being brought against him to accuse him of blasphemy, before a Committee of Parliament, who called in his book, and referred him to the House, &c. but I forbeare to shew his folly here, which is referred to another place and his wickednesse discovered therein.

In *pag.* 32. hee saith the Government of the *Massachusets* had no shew of any thing against them but Religion, and yet the whole carried on in his owne way as well as what wee now print, shewes it was in the right of two Indian *Sachims*, namely *Pumham* and *Soconoco*, who placing themselves under the protection of the *Massachusets* complained of violence offered them by Mr. *Gorton* and his company, it being our manner both in Capitals and Criminals to doe them the like justice wee doe one to another, wherein walking by the same rules of righteousnesse towards them, they

have the leſſe cauſe to take offence at us.

From *pag.* 33. forward, are many Letters which I cannot beleeve al is in them, and therfore remain jealous of his ſincerity in Printing them.

In *pag.* 37. hee holds forth converſion to be the ground of the *Maſſachuſets* ſending to them, now to that end, ſaith hee, they ſent a Miniſter. 'Tis true, there was a gracious young man one Mr. *Joh. Bulkley* then a Student, but in no miniſtery, went to teach to the Company they ſent to guard their owne Commiſſioners, and to bring in *Gorton* if need required: but I dare not beleeve what hee affirmes. And for the Copy of a Letter hee fathers upon the Commiſſioners ſent by the Government of the *Maſſachuſet*; I conclude 'tis rather ſet downe upon memory then right, becauſe of ſome atteſtations I have by me to make uſe on elſewhere, which ſeeme to hold forth the contrary, and ſo I doe not credit it.

In *pag.* 38, & 39. hee relates how their wives were frighted at mens preſenting their muskets at them, &c. and ſuffering ſuch hardſhips as occaſioned death, &c. Which muſt alſo bee falſe, for honeſt men have depoſed there was no ſuch preſentment, and that their wives came freely and familiarly to them, both before and after they were taken. So alſo hee affirmes our men would allow of no parley but private, or elſe they would diſpatch them in a quarter of an houre, which I will never beleeve, becauſe I know the men to bee men fearing God, and durſt not proceed as hee relateth it.

In *pag.* 40, & 41. he alſo taxeth the Commiſſioners and ſouldiers with breach of Covenants in time of treaty, as, *breaking open their houſes, desks, killing their cattle, &c.* All which is falſe, for oath is made to the contrary, which I ſhall make uſe of before my Lord of *Warwick* Governour in chiefe, and the reſt of the honourable Committee for foraign Plantations in due time and place, that whereas they were by agreement to have two houſes for their company being about 40 men, they made uſe of but one, nor did any of theſe things laid to their charge.

In *pag.* 45. he would make *Pumham* and *Soconoco*, the naturall ſubjects of *Myantonimo* their Prince; but this was diſproved. And in the ſame page, he ſaith, the Magiſtrates ſuggeſted to the people as though there were *feare of ſome combination between the Indians and them. Anſw.* I dare not ſay you had a hand in the depth of their conſpiracy: but this I thinke you dare not deny, that *Weekes* one

of

of your ſtouteſt Champions, lent *Myantonimo* an Armour, in which he was taken in battell againſt *Uncus*, who was under the protection of the Engliſh united Colonies: for which *Uncus* put him to death; and in your own book you hold forth more familiarity then becomes you.

But here it will bee neceſſary for mee to ſhew you the ground of this warre. There was a people called by the name of the *Pecoats*, being a ſtout warlike people, who had been at warre with the *Nanobigganſets* many yeares, and were too ſtrong for them; ſo alſo were they at ſome diſtance of affection with this *Uncus*, who was *Sachim* of a people called the *Mohegans*, neare the head of a River falleth into the ſea at *Pecoat*. The chiefe *Sachim* of this people of *Pecoat*, was called *Tatobam*, a ſtout man. The *Nanobigganſets* and theſe ſtrove who ſhould be greateſt. This *Tatobam* envied the Engliſh, and was the firſt ſtirrer and contriver of this generall Plot, that they might all joyne together to deſtroy the Engliſh; but the *Nanobigganſets* refuſed to joyne with them, knowing if that were once done, the next ruine muſt be their owne. Afterward having ſubdued many ſmall peoples, and one as great as themſelves, and and ſome Engliſh planting more neare then the body of our Plantations, though without wrong to him, or any of them, hee cut off Captaine *Stone* his Barke and Company, and after this killed divers ſtragling Engliſh. This ſtirred up the Engliſh to take revenge: The *Nanobigganſets* and *Uncus*, *Sachim* of the *Mobeges* ſeeing this, becauſe it was againſt their comon Enemy, offered their ſervice to joyn with the Engliſh: the *Nanobigganſets* did no conſiderable ſervice in compariſon of the *Mobeges*, who did as much as could bee expected, but the *Nanobigganſets* rather gathered up the ſpoile, to the great offence of the *Engliſh* and *Mobeges*, ſeldome ingaging in any fight. The Engliſh killed and deſtroyed this people utterly, ſo that thoſe that were left remaining utterly deſerted the Countrey, and the Engliſh wonne it, and are now poſſeſſed of it. After this victory, *Myantonimo Sachim* or Lord of the *Nanobigganſets*, and *Uncus* Lord of the *Mobeges*, manifeſted no good blood towards each other; the Engliſh at *Hartford* where the Government for *Conecticut* is held, hearing of it, got them together, and made a peace and threefold Covenant between the Government of *Conecticut*, *Nanchigganſet*, and *Mohege*, which was ſigned by the Governour of *Conecticut*, *Myantonimo Sachim* of *Nanobigganſet*, and *Uncus Sachim* of *Mohegan*. The

Cove-

Covenants ran to this purpose, To confirme their League between the English and them, and either to other, and to hold forth a league of perpetuall peace between them. And in case any difference should arise between these two Indian *Sachims*, or their people, the party offended should complaine to the Governour of *Conecticut*, who was to mediate and to determine the controversie between his two friends and their people: And in case the injury were great, and the party wronging would not stand to the foresaid award and determination, then it should not onely bee lawfull for the wronged to right himselfe by force of Armes, but for the English party also to assist the innocent in that kind. And to this they all firmed as before.

The *Nanohigganset Sachim* never regarded this Covenant, the *Mohege Sachim* ever faithfully observed it. But *Myantonimo* of *Nanohigganset* had thoughts now to prosecute the *Pecoats* designe, and to destroy the English, (the *Pecoets* Nation being rooted out by Gods just judgement as before) and travels farre and neare to draw all the Indians in the Countrey into this horrid confederacy with him; but this *Uncus* would not bee wonne, though he would have taken his daughter in marriage, but ever acquainted the English with his working. At length an inferiour *Sachim*, subordinate to *Nanohigganset* affronts him and his men, hee complaines to the English, they send to this inferiour *Sachim*, hee sleights their admonition, goes on his course; whereupon the other demands leave to make warre upon him, not requiring any aide. Still the English forewarne the other party of the evill they were like to bring upon themselves; till at length they professe they have had peace enough, & now it is time to war; Whereupon the English give way to *Uncus* to revenge himselfe, he doth it; the other are beaten. Now *Myantonimo* he prepares an Army of above 1000 men, and comes upon a sudden upon *Uncus* without any respect to Covenants, and took *Uncus* at advantage, not with above 300 men; by which meanes they beset him every way in his Fort, which stands upon a point of Land between two Rivers. *Myantonimo* so dispersed his men to prevent their flight, as *Uncus* making a desperate salley with almost his full force, routed the other, slew neare upon an hundred, and forced them to fly: But Mr. *Weekes* one of *Samuel Gortons* company (as I am credibly informed) lending the Great *Sachim* a complete Armor; and having it on in the fight, was not able to fly so fast as his men,

and

and was taken by this meanes. Yet such was *Uncus* respect still to the English, as hee kept him till hee sent to the English, *viz.* to the Right Worshipfull *George Fenwicke* Esquire, to know what he should doe with him, who lived next to him, Hee wished him to follow their owne Custome, and to deale with him, as if hee had not advised with him, or there were no English in the land to advise withall. Hereupon hee resolved to have killed him forthwith, according to their Custome. But no sooner were the *Nanobigganſets* got home, who had lost divers Sachims, Captaines, and chiefe men in this fight, but they send to Mr. *Gorton*, &c. who sent a Note to *Uncus*, with a command by the bearer, that they put him not to death, but use him kindly and returne him. This the Messenger either said or they supposed came from the *Massachusets* Governour, and did much daunt *Uncus* and his men: but to cleare up all, they advised with the Gent. of *Conecticut*, who wished him to keep him prisoner, and to advise with the Commissioners of the United Colonies whereof they were part, whose meeting would bee ere long by course at the *Massachusets*: which counsell hee followed, and entreated the Governour of *Conecticut* (*Myantonimo* also desiring it) to keep him safe for him till then, whereupon hee was brought to *Hartford*: And many gifts were sent to the prisoner; which hee bestowed like himselfe, some on him that took him, some on *Uncus*, some on his wife, some on *Uncus* brother being a great Captaine, and some on others where he had received kindnesses, and this was all the ransome was paid, there being not so much as a ransome proposed by the *Nanobigganſets*, nor set down by *Uncus*. But hee advising with the Commissioners, they considering how many ways besides open hostility he had sought the life of *Uncus*, by poyson, secret murther, witchcraft, &c. advised him to put him to death, there being no safety for him whilst hee lived, being so restlesse in his practice against his life; and therefore wished *Uncus* to proceed with him according to their owne Custome towards prisoners of Warre, which is to put them to death, according to which advice he proceeded, knowing now that none of the *Engl.* would intercede for him. And hereupon *Uncus* went to *Hartford* and demanded his prisoner, and led him to an house of his owne, out of the limits of the English, and there killed him, where was an English man or two by to prevent their accustomed cruelties, in cutting off not onely the head and hands of their prisoners when they are

dead, and make bracelets of the fore-joints of their fingers, &c. but to torture them whilst living with most inhumane cruelties. After this, the *Nanobigganſets* would warre upon him in revenge of his death; wee forbade them, and at our next meeting of Commiſſioners to conſult about the Weale publike of the United Colonies, in regard the *Nanobigganſets* pleaded they had taken a ranſome for his life, and his life alſo, which the other denyed; Wee ſent for *Uncus*, and ſent to the great *Sachims* of *Nanobigganſet* to come alſo, or appeare by Commiſſioners; but they ſent foure Commiſſioners with full authority to treate, where we found neither ranſome, nor colour of ranſome in the leaſt meaſure. And ſo a truce was agreed on, & if *Uncus* brake it, we were then freed from our engagement to defend him any further, for they deſired no more: And if the *Nanobigganſets* broke it, then it ſhould be lawfull for us the United Colonies to take part with him, &c. But the truth is, though before they had ſo neare neighbours of the Engliſh, as *Gorton*, &c. and till *Myantonimo's* Government, as they were the moſt in number, and moſt peaceable of all the *Indians*, yet now they were changed, as if they had not been the people, and had their Tutors, Secretaries, and promptors to ſuggeſt their greatneſſe and our weakneſſe to them, as his Book witneſſeth, in ſuch manner as I am confident if the *Gortonians* (for I take the phraſe from his owne Book here, never hearing it before) bee ſuffered to live ſo neare them, it will bee our ruine, or theſe *Indians* (which we deſire not) in ſhort time. I thought good to inſert this Narration thus briefly, that the Reader might underſtand the ground of his many charges, calling God to witneſſe I know not the leaſt falſhood related in it, but many things for brevities ſake omitted worthy a hiſtory; but I am now about an anſwer, not an hiſtory, and therefore thus briefe. But to return.

In *pag.* 47. ſee how he ſcoffes at the Sabbath as if there were no other ground for our religious obſervation of it, then Mr. *Cottons* judgement. And in *pag.* 48. hee is full of many ſcoffs, as if hee and his *Gortonians* would not, nor did ſhoot at all, when as I have oath to prove they ſhot alſo at the other, but the truth is, I heard ſome ſay that their powder was ſo dampe and moiſt as they could not without great difficulty diſcharge a peece, which I well believe might bee the reaſon they ſhot no more then they did.

In *pag.* 49. hee chargeth Captaine *Cooke* with breach of Articles: And yet I have it atteſted upon oath, that there were none agreed on, onely

onely they desired they might not goe bound; which was easily assented to, they behaving themselves quietly. And for their cattle, I never heard the number to be so great by farre; but asking the Governour of the *Massachusets* about them, hee professed they did not amount to halfe their charges. And if any aske by what authority they went out of their own Government to do such an act? Know that his former seditious and turbulent carriage in all parts where he came, as *Plymouth*, *Roade-Island*, a place of greatest liberty, *Providence* that place which relieved him in that his so great extremity, and his so desperate close with so dangerous and potent enemies, and at such a time of Conspiracy by the same Indians, together with the wrongs done to the Indians, and English under the protection of that Government of the *Massachusets*, who complained and desired reliefe; together with his notorious contempt of all Civill Government, as well as that particular, and his blasphemies against God needlessly manifested in his proud letters to them, one whereof hee hath printed, and the other I have herewith published for him. All these considered, you shall see hereby cause enough, why they proceeded against him as a common enemy of the Countrey. And as such an one, the said Commissioners being then met together at *Massachusets* by course, for the Weale of the whole, upon just complaint ordered and thought meet that the Government of the *Massachusets* should call them to accompt, and proceed with them so farre as stood with righteousnesse and justice: And by their declaration thou maist easily see they went no further, for they refusing safe conduct to come to answer to the matters against them, forced them upon this charge needlessly, which they made them beare part of as before. So that here's cause enough besides blasphemy for their proceeding with them I suppose.

In *pag.* 51. he chargeth *New-Engl.* Ministers to pray in the streets: but take notice I have been there these 26 yeares, and better, but never heard of such a practise, till I now reade it in his Book.

In *pag.* 52. he saith, the Governour to satisfie the people, said, *we were apprehended for divers grosse opinions*, &c. *Answ.* You may see in the last Section but one there was cause enough. And yet for Opinions, let mee tell you that you held, That that Image of God after which man was created was Christ; and that when *Adam* fell Christ was slaine, &c. And as for your opinion concerning Churches, Mr. *Williams* by way of sad complaint told me, you denyed

any true Churches of Christ to bee in the world: also Baptisme it selfe, and the Lords Supper, Sabbath, Magistracy as it was an ordinance used amongst Christians. And for the Lords Supper, that it is but a spell, the Ministers Necromancers, and the Communicants drunke with the juice of the grape, &c. And for this last passage here mentioned, the Reader shall have it at large in a second Letter sent by him and his companions to the Government of the *Massachusets*, concealed by himself in his Book, though he pretendeth to have printed all, &c.

In *pag.* 53. as he abuseth others, so Mr. *Cotton* and Mr. *Ward*, in affirming that Mr. *Ward* put himselfe into a passion, and stirred up *Carder* to recant, &c. as being no discredit to him, because Mr. *Cotton* ordinarily preached that publiquely once a yeare, which the next yeare he recants, &c. But Mr. *Ward* being in Towne, a man well knowne and reputed, I shewed him the Booke, and hee gave mee thanks, and returned this answer to it *verbatim*: Samuel Gorton *having made mee a Margent note in the* 53 page *of his Booke, I hold my self called to make this answer to it; I cannot call to minde that ever I knew or spake with such a man as* Richard Carder, *nor that ever I had any speech with any prisoner at a window, nor should I need it in* New-England, *where there is liberty enough given for conference with prisoners in more free and convenient places. This I remember, that one* Robert Potter *who went in the same Ship with mee into* New-England, *and expressing by the way so much honesty and godlinesse as gained my good opinion and affection towards him: I hearing that hee was affected with* Samuel Gortons *blasphemous conceits and carriages, and therefore now imprisoned with him, I went to visit him, and having free speech with him in the open prison yard, who shedding many teares might happily move me to expresse my affection to him, which* Samuel Gorton *calls passion: After some debate about his new opinions, I remember I used a speech to him to this effect: That hee should doe well and wisely to make such acknowledgement of his errours as his conscience would permit; telling him that Mr.* Cotton *whom hee had so much reverenced in* Old England, *and* New, *had given him a godly example in that kinde, by a publique acknowledgement upon a solemne Fast day with many teares; That in the time when errours were so stirring, God leaving him for a time, he fell into a spirituall slumber; and had it not been for the watchfulnesse of his brethren the Elders, &c. hee might have slept in; and blessed God very cordially for awakening him, and was very thankefull to his Brethren, for*

their

their watchfulnesse over him, and faithfulnesse towards him: wherein hee honoured God not a little, and greatly rejoyced the hearts of his hearers; and therefore it would bee no shame for him to doe the like.

Concerning Mr. Cotton, *were I worthy, I would presume to speake that now of him, which I have said more then many times of him elsewhere, That I hold him such an eminent Worthy of Christ, as very few others have attained unto him; and that I hold my selfe not worthy to wipe his slippers for matters of grace, learning, and industry in the worke of God.*

For the Author Samuel Gorton, *my self and others farre more judicious, take him to bee a man whose spirit is starke drunke with blasphemies and insolencies, a corrupter of the Truth, and a disturber of the Peace where ever hee comes; I intreat him to read* Titus 1. 13. *with an humble heart, and that is the greatest harm I wish him.*

N. W.

Thus much of the Answer and testimony of that Reverend and Grave Divine, wherein the Reader may see how Mr. *Gorton* abuseth all men, by casting mire and dirt in the faces of our best deserving Instruments.

In *page* 54. he accuseth Mr. *Wilson* and Mr. *Cotton* for stirring up the people against them, &c. *Answ.* What they pressed in their Sermons, I was not present to heare; but this I can affirme, that from the time of their liberty to my departure from *New England*, which is not much above two moneths, I have heard many precious godly men affirme, that *Sam. Gorton* and his company needlesly in their writings and conference belched out such blasphemy as they thought God was offended with the Country for giving them the liberty they had. And that you may the better see his carriage, (it being the manner of the Countrey to let their prisoners come to heare the Word preached) Mr. *Gorton*, &c. being there after Mr. *Cotton* had ended his Sermon on a Sabbath day, asked leave to speake, which Mr. *Cotton* assenting to, the Governour being present gave him leave, where with a loud voice before the whole Congregation being very great, hee declared, *That the Ministery of the Word, Sacraments, Censures, and other Ordinances of Religion in the hands of Ministers, are like the silver Shrines of* Diana *in the hands of the craftsmen of Ephesus, &c.* And if the truth of this be questioned, I have testimony upon Oath to make it good.

In *pag.* 55, 56, 57. many things might bee excepted against, as

in p. 55. his great respect manifested to that government, because derived from the State of *England*, which what it was thou maist largely see in certaine Observations of a godly Divine annexed hereunto, upon his owne two contemptuous and blasphemous Letters, or rather Bookes, wherein are 48 severall aspersions cast on them. Secondly, his appealing, *pag.* 56. from their Justice when their Charter enjoynes none.

In *pag.* 56, & 57. the Questions as hee hath set them downe, and the relation about the time allowed him to give his answer; I question whether he have dealt fairely therein, because hee is so often found faulty.

To passe by his Answer, and his large explanation of himselfe, *pag.* 58. and come to 59. &c. and so the rest of his Answers to the Questions to 64. I answer, though I know not whether hee doe right as hee states things; yet this I know, being attested by reverend persons, That hee then maintained, *that God made man after his owne image; and that God hath but one image, and that is Christ; and this was the Incarnation of Christ, his exinanition by which we are saved.* And when it was objected, wee are not saved by the incarnation of Christ, but by the death of Christ. *True, saith hee, therefore* Adam *fell, and so destroyed Gods image, and that was the death of Christ.* When it was objected againe, *Adams* fall was not our salvation, but condemnation, but the death of Christ was our salvation: and therefore *Adams* fall could not be the death of Christ. Hee would by no meanes either revoke or explaine his speech (though much urged thereunto) to agree with the principles of Christian Religion. Being further demanded what he then thought of that Christ in whom we beleeve, borne of the *Virgin Mary*, and who suffered under *Pontius Pilate*? He answered, *That that Christ was a shadow, and but a resemblance of what is done in mee and every true Christian.* And now judge good Reader, whether this be like what hee mentioneth, or whether it were a trifle not worthy the mentioning: But if he will be so unfaithfull as to omit it, I dare not.

As for his censure, *pag.* 64. I know not whether it bee right set downe; and so the charge, *pag.* 65. wherein I dare say he wrongeth the Ministers, in saying, *They stirred up the people to famish them.*

As for his long and tedious Letter to Mr. *Green*, from *page* 66 to 74. I passe it by, as he saith Mr. *Green* did. But in 74. hee would make

make it an aspersion upon Mr. *Endecot* for saying *that God had stirred them up to goe out of their owne jurisdiction to fetch them from their owne places.* Take notice as it is litterally within the line of *Plimouth* Government in their Grant, yet the Indians before mentioned having subjected themselves to the *Massachusets*, the Commissioners for *Plimouth* as well as those for *Connecticut*, and *New-Haven*, upon the manifold complaints and reasons before mentioned, being met together at their ordinary time and place appointed and ordered it should bee so, as appeares by the copy of their act.

At a meeting of the Commissioners for the United Colonies of *New-England* holden at *Boston* the seventh of *September* 1643.

Whereas complaints have beene made against Samuel Gorton *and his company, and some of them weighty and of great consequence; And whereas the said* Gorton *and the rest have beene formerly sent for, and now lately by the generall Court of the* Massachusets *with a safe conduct both for their comming and returne, that they might give answer and satisfaction wherein they have done wrong. If yet they shall stubbornely refuse, the Commissioners for the United Colonies think fit that the Magistrates in the* Massachusets *proceed against them according to what they shall finde just; and the rest of the Jurisdictions will approve and concurre in what shall bee so warrantably done, as if their Commissioners had beene present at the conclusions, provided that this conclusion doe not prejudice the Government of* Plimouth *in any right they can justly claime unto any Tract or Tracts, &c.*

By which Order it appeares they were stirred up and allowed by *Plimouth* it selfe as well as the rest, as afore, to send for and deale with as indeed the common disturbers of the peace of the Country. them

And whereas in *pag. 76.* He complaineth of the Governours last order for breaking the order of Court, yet take it as he relates it and any understanding man will easily see on the other side the same leafe that they still were bound to the rest of the Articles at their confinement, which they were now in a high way to break. And for that little Iland called *Roade Island* they were forced to shelter in, take notice 'tis 30 miles about, very fruitfull, and plentifully abounding with all manner of food the Country affordeth, and hath

hath two Townes besides many great Farmes well stocked in the same.

In *pag.* 79. Hee complaines of us for calling them *Gortonians*, and so the Indians calling them *Gortonoges* and not Englishmen, with many affected foppish vanities, phrases and termes I never heard on before, and yet have lived in *New-England* from the beginning, being now above 26 yeares. I wish hee study not, nor affect these things, but I much feare it.

In *pag.* 80. Hee tels a tale of a tub, of *Myantonimo's* being slain as hee marched, which is false, for hee was put to death, and in an house, but not upon a march. And is it to bee wondered at, that two English were present to see the manner of their proceeding in so weighty a cause as one Prince putting another his perfidious enemy and captive to death, especially when they were required by the Commissioners to forbeare their accustomed torments and to give him honourable buriall, which they did and had thanks returned by the *Nanbigansets* for those particulars. Now if any would know how it was done? It was onely at one blow with an hatchet on the side of the heade as hee walked easily in the roome (expecting no lesse) which fully dispatched him at once. And thus much for answer to this charge.

To let passe *pag.* 81. what hee saith about *Myantonimo's* death as being answered before, and come to *pag* 82. &c. where he mentioneth a consultation held amongst the Indians to put themselves under the subjection of the State of *England*, *&c.* *Answ.* Wee heard indeed of this desperate plot by this unfaithfull people, who had beene in Covenant with the severall Governments long before, but never observed any one Article farther then it might further their owne designe which was to bee absolute Lords of the Country though with the ruine of us all. And truly had he not published this and the following discourse wee could never have proved it though wee heard of it both from English and Indians. And however *Myantonimo* dyed, yet the plot liveth and continueth to this day. Now though I dare not say, nor doe I thinke they joyne with them in aiming at the ruine of all the English, yet they joyne with them in many of their Councels, contrive their sturdy answers by writings, and become their Secretaries. Who knowes not that they cannot write? and who knowes not their owne answers from those that come under your hands? And if the State of *England* (which

God

God defend) ſhould eſtabliſh your and their joynt propoſitions: then were their plot accompliſhed: for they might and would worke freely our ruine when as wee might not take up armes againſt them, but by vertue of warrant or writ from hence procured upon our complaints here, which alſo would bee ſix months, in ordinary courſe in procuring and returning, when as in one of theſe all our throates might bee cut, and thoſe hopefull beginnings ſo much favoured by our gracious God hitherto in a high way to bee overthrowne. Indeed wee heard further, and for my part I beleeve it, that for the better accompliſhment hereof, *Samuel Gorton* and ſome of his company had perſwaded the *Nanohiggonſets* to ſend the King a very large Preſent of Beaver and otter skins which they ſhould bring in, and accordingly did: but withall the Engliſh reporter ſaith, that if he could finde favour with the Parliament, then hee would reſt there: but if they frowned on him, hee doubted not to but obtaine what was meet from the King. But the times would not ſuffer him to publiſh this alſo, elſe I ſee wee ſhould have had all: and this take notice of, That (as the ſame report teſtified) at his departure hee wiſhed them by no meanes to warre with us the *United Colonies*, but compound though it coſt them never ſo deare, but aſſured them at his returne hee would come ſtrengthened with ſuch authority and ſo many of his friends as that the *Nanohiggonſets* and themſelves ſhould not need to feare any thing the reſt of the Engliſh could doe. And that we heard theſe things from credible teſtimony and are not faigned by mee, I take the ſearcher of the heart to witneſſe, yea ſay further that I beleeve them to bee true.

His glorious ſeeming well-deſerving acts follow in *pag.* 82. &c. to 89. but note that *Weekes*, *Holden*, and *Warner*, (though I leaſt know the laſt, but am ſure for the other two) were his ſtrong Aſſiſtants in his former ſeditious and mutinous carriages both at *Roade Iſland* and *Providence*, and therefore fit Commiſſioners as he terms them, for the accompliſhing ſuch a deſigne. And in *pag.* 85. note firſt, their complyance with the *Nanohiggonſets*, and his falſe relation in ſaying *Myantonimo's* ranſome was taken and his life alſo, which is moſt falſe, as I made appeare in my former relation. And for the Kings being our and their Judge, as in *pag.* 86. Know the Indians care no more for the King then they doe for us, whom they would deſtroy if they could.

And in *pag.* 88. take notice of the *Gortoniſts* complying and joyn-

ing with them, first, by calling them their *fellow-subjects*, and secondly, speaking of the *Mauk-quaggues* (whom wee ordinarily call *Mo-whaks*) as being the *most fierce and warlike people in the Country, where (saith hee) wee are furnished with* 3700 *Guns, men expert in the use of them, &c.* Now these indeed as the Switzers serve for hire. And the *Nanohiggansets* being rich have hired them to assist them in their warre. But though the *Gortonists* it seemes are interessed with the *Nanohiggansets* in their strength against us, yet are they neither so many men nor have so many arms, but have too many and are very expert in them; being continually supplyed by the French and Dutch, whose aime is chiefly at the trade of Furs, and hereby not onely robbe us of that should helpe to maintaine our plantations which are growing up into a Nation, but furnish the Indians with all manner of armes, which I would to God, and humbly beseech this High Court of Parliament to take into serious consideration, and treate with their severall Ambassadors about it, as a thing unreasonable in it selfe, and such as hath beene pernicious to French and Dutch, and may bee destructive to them and us, if some due course bee not taken. But to returne from my humble request to the State, to my answer to *Samuel Gorton*; although this be a most unworthy vaunt of his, yet I trust the State will make such use of it as never to suffer this desperate crew to live so neere our malicious enemies the *Nanohiggans*. and that they will not only countenance the sentence of the *Massachus*-Government against them, but hinder the said *Gortons* returne thither, by forbidding him to set foot on that land of *New-England* he hath filled with so many troubles in all the parts where he hath beene.

In *pag.* 91. Hee taxeth *Plimouth* to joyne with the *Massachusets* to frustrate their Government by vertue of their new Charter. 'Tis true, wee would have had the *Massachusets* to have the seat, and rendred a reason to the State of their proceedings, knowing as before that Mr. *Gortons* journey was for evill and not for good: but they being then taken up with more weighty concernments neglected it: but *Plimouth* did then petition the right honourable *Robert* Earle of *Warwicke* the Governour in chiefe of the English plantations in *America* and the rest of that honourable Committee joyned in Commission with him, that wee might enjoy our ancient limits of Government granted in our letters Patent, and withall shewed that their Charter for the limits of it now granted, was contained within

within our line of Government: and trust I shall now receive answer. Tis true also that we sent Mr. *John Brown* furnished with these following instruction to signifie to all that were interessed in that new erected Government as followeth by Commission given at *New-Plimouth, Nov.* 8. 1644.

1. *That a great part of their supposed Government is within the line of the Government of* New-Plimouth.

2. *That wee assuredly knew that this ever to bee honoured House of Parliament would not, nor will when they shall know of it, take from us the most ancient Plantation, any part of the line of our Governments formerly granted, it being contrary to their Principles.*

3. *To forbid them and all and every of them to exercise any authority or power of Government within the limits of our Letters Patents.*

4. *To certifie them that* Coweeset *is not onely within the said limits, but that the* Sachim *thereof and his sonnes have taken protection of this our Government. And therefore to forbid them to enter upon any part of his or their lands without due order and leave from our Government.*

Now these instructions were signed by the Governour. And Mr. *Browne* going to *Roade Island* for this end came very seasonable when a publique meeting was appointed for your new Magistrates and people, (but as he reported, for a most vile end, *viz.* to take into consideration a new disposall of the lands formerly given out, as if some had too much and some too little, and for no respect of persons, and their estates was to bee laid aside.) And here note that Mr. *Coddington*, Mr. *Brinton*, *&c.* that we at *Plimouth* had speciall eye to, when wee commended them thither, abhorred their course, abstained from their meetings, looked upon themselves as persons in great danger, and bemoaned their condition to divers their friends, being now overwhelmed with cares and feares what would bee the issue of things. And note that now also Mr. *Samuel Gorton* that before had suffered so much by authority for his evill doing, and was come to deny it and preach against it, being now by these Inhabitants called to place, accepts it, and became a Magistrate amongst them, &c. But whereas hee intimates, as if Mr. *Browne* had onely done his message (according to his instructions) in a private way from house to house, therein hee wrongs him: for hee did it publiquely in the place of their Assembly, who were so daunted at it as they brake up, and did no act intended for that day, as hee related it: but some would have had him imprisoned, others punished,

others ſent to the Dutch and ſo for England. Yea Mr. *Gorton* himſelfe told Mr. *Brownes* ſonne that his father had done that which he deſerved to die for, and were hee in any other place it would coſt him his life. So fit for Government were theſe men, as to judge a peaceable claime of right without any further diſturbance or ſtirre made ſhould thus deſerve. Neither indeed have wee further ſtirred then as before, ever reſolving to reſt in the determination of the right honourable the Governour in chiefe and the reſt of his honourable Aſſiſtants of that Committee bee truſted with the affaires of the Forraigne Engliſh Plantations, aſſuring our ſelves what ever might proceed either from miſinformation or want of due knowledge what was formerly done, would bee rectified upon the firſt information and complaint made: Such were our thoughts of them, and the juſtice wee expected, and ſtill hope to receive from them. And thus much for anſwer to that complaint.

In *pag.* 92. He layeth another groſſe aſperſion upon us, in ſaying, *There was diſtance and alienation of affection betweene* Plimouth *and the* Maſſachuſets *at their firſt comming, each thinking I am holier then thou: and as if wee were now united on purpoſe to ſcatter them.* The world knowes this to bee moſt falſe. Never people agreed better, maintaining both religious and civill Communion with each other, and helping and being helpfull one to another upon all occaſions: which is ſo well knowne, as if hee had not more then ordinary boldneſſe hee durſt not affirme it. Nor came the men of *Plimouth* from *Amſterdam* as hee reporteth but *Leyden*, a people that many of that Church of *Amſterdam* would hardly allow communion withall: but his pen is no ſlaunder, at leaſt will not bee where this anſwer ſhall follow it. And for his relation of the manner of the Indians mourning for their Prince his death; Truely had hee dyed a naturall death, 'tis their manner not onely ſo to mourne for their great *Sachims* which are Princes, but for ordinary men, women and children as hee well knoweth or might know.

In *pag.* 93. He further complaines of *Plimouth* and *Maſſachuſets* for offering to goe out againſt the *Nanobigganſets* to cut them off by the ſword. And ſo complaines alſo of Captaine *Standiſh &c. Anſw.* I told you before how the Commiſſioners for the United Colonies meeting at *Hartford* by courſe, whoſe meeting always begins the firſt Thurſday in *Septemb.* ſent for both the *Nanobigganſets* and *Uncus*, who appeared, and a league agreed on: but the *Nanobig-*

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ganſets broke againe, and warred upon *Uncus* needleſly. The United Colonies admoniſhed them againe and againe: and after no admonition nor perſwaſions would ſerve, wee were then forced to call the Commiſſioners together at an extraordinary ſeaſon on purpoſe, who finding it meet to take up Armes in the behalfe of *Uncus* our Confederate, whom by the agreement of the *Nanohigganſets* ſundry times, at divers meetings wee were bound, and it was made lawfull to doe. Hereupon the Commiſſioners agreeing as before, ſent out their Warrants to their ſeverall and ſpeciall Governments, and accordingly Forces were raiſed at a dayes warning. But before this, in ſtead of hearkening to righteous Counſell, they threatened alſo the Engliſh, ſaying, they would make heapes of our dead bodies and cattle, as high as their houſes, burne our habitations, make ſpoile of our goods, and uſed our Meſſengers very diſcurteouſly, &c. And for Captaine *Standiſh*, this I heard him relate, that being at the place of Rendezvouze, before the *Maſſachuſets* Forces came, obſerving that ſome of the Inhabitants of *Providence* received the *Indians* into their houſes familiarly, who had put themſelves alſo into a poſture of Armes, and the place within a mile of *Seecunck* or *Rhehoboth* where Captaine *Standiſh* lay; hee ſent to *Providence*, and required them to lay aſide their neutrality, and either declare themſelves on the one ſide or other: For the warre being once begun, hee would not beare with their carriage in entertaining, furniſhing, and relieving the common enemy, but would diſarm them, &c. And whether neceſſity put him not upon this courſe, or no, let the Reader judge.

And for the five hundred pound, 'tis true their hearts fayled to ſee *Plymouth* Forces appeare, and *Maſſachuſ.* both Horſe and Foot upon their march on the one ſide their Countrey, under Mr. *Edw. Gibbons* who was choſen Generall of the United Colonies, with the help of *Wooſamequin*, whoſe conſtancy to *Plymouth* is wel known, and *Pumham* and *Sotononoco* with reference to *Maſſachuſets* with all their men, attending the Engliſh word of command. And on the other ſide their Countrey the forces of *Conecticut* and *Newhaven*, with all the ſtrength of *Uncus*, waiting but for the word from the Commiſſioners to fall on. Now I ſay they were daunted eſpecially becauſe it came ſo ſuddenly upon them, wanting Mr. *Gorton* and his friends who were not yet come; Hereupon they reſolved to go to the

Commissioners to *Massachus.* and compound, and did signe new Articles to observe the peace not onely with the United Colonies but with *Uncus*, *Wooſamequin*, *Pumham*, and *Soconoco*, and other our Confederates, including all the English in the land, to make satisfaction for wrongs to *Uncus*, and to pay five hundred pounds to the united Colonies, for the charge they put us to, which indeed would not neare make it good, if they had paid it: but as at other times, so now, notwithstanding their Hostages, they abused us grosly, first sending false persons: secondly, breaking all other their Covenants, and came at last to a resolution, they would rather give the money (which is a Beade, as current as coin in all that part of *America*, of their owne making) to the *Mowhakes* at once, to cut us off, then to pay it according to Covenant.

And thus contrary to my resolution, I see a necessity of more large answers then I intended; and indeed otherwise I should speak riddles, and not satisfie the Reader. Although were it an History, I have many remarkable passages which here for brevity sake I must omit. And if any think wee doe needlesly ingage in the troubles betweene the *Indians*? 1. Let them know if wee should not here and there keepe correspondency with some of them, they would soone joyne all together against us. 2. The quarrall betweene *Uncus* and *Nanohiggansets*, arose upon his cleaving to us: For the great *Sachim Myantonimo* would have married *Uncus* daughter, and since *Pessacus* that succeeded him would have married *Wooſamequins* daughter, and all in policy to take them off from us; so that indeed wee are necessitated to it. And 3. we are not out of hope in time to bring them to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, as will appeare by a small Treatise of that kinde. But this one thing I desire the Reader to take notice of, that when that great Prince *Myantonimo* hee so much admires, had offered violence to *Wooſamequin* (who was under the protection of *Plymouth*) and missing his person, returned onely with the plunder of his goods: Upon *Wooſamequins* complaint to *Plymouth*, that Government alone, it being before the Union, sent Captain *Standish* with a few men, not above 20. who sent a message over the Bay of Salt water which parts *Wooſamequin* from them, *Either to make restitution of his goods so injuriously taken, or else to expect him to fetch them with a vengeance to their cost.* Hereupon they sent over every particular that could bee demanded, even to a woodden dish, and salved up all againe; but this was before

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any malignant Englisſh ſate down ſo neare them, and held counſell with them, before they had violated our perſons to them, reported us to bee baſe and low, out of favour with the King and State, &c. things very unworthy, abominable to be named, but that in defending the abuſed Governments of the Country, I am forced to dang ſuch ſtrokes at theſe proud and turbulent enemies of the Countrey.

Next in *pag.* 94. that hee relateth of Mr. *Williams*, *viz*, the meſſengers taking him with them that were ſent to the *Nanohiggonſets*, in that troubleſome time, *viz. being one caſt out of the Church* (Mr. *Cotton* ſhould preach) *It was all one to take counſell of a witch, and that thoſe that did it were worthy to die.* Upon which Mr. *Wilbur* one of the meſſengers *was ready to die*, ſaith hee, *for feare hee ſhould have been hanged.* This I cannot beleeve for theſe two Reaſons: 1. Becauſe all men that know Mr. *Cotton*, know his moderation, wiſdome and piety to bee ſuch, as ſuch an expreſſion was not like to drop from him. 2. The ſtricteſt Government in *New-Engl.* that I know, takes no advantage in the law at a mans perſon for being excommunicated; inſomuch as if he have an office, he holds it nevertheleſſe, and this, I know practiſed, and therefore his relation unlike. But that the Meſſengers were directed to another for their interpreter I know, and that ſome took offence at their practiſe I know alſo, but upon different grounds, which I forbeare to mention, being now to anſwer Mr. *Gorton*, and not Mr. *Williams*.

In *pag.* 93. which is the laſt *page* in his Booke that I ſhall need to make anſwer to, and the thing hee there brings againſt us is an anſwer to a doctrine one of their wives ſhould heare delivered at *Maſſachuſets* when ſhee came to viſit them, from *Matth.* 24. 29. *and alluding to* Hebr. 12. 26, 27. briefly this doctrine there delivered, *ſhould make the doctrine of the Apoſtles and the Churches in their times to bee but darkneſſe. That the Miniſtery of the Apoſtles was and ſhould be removed, &c.* which I deſire the Reader to turne to; but bee aſſured through Gods mercy, by meanes of the late Biſhop of *Canterburies* perſecutions of the godly here, wee are ſo excellently furniſhed with ſhining Lights of the Goſpel, as no ſuch blaſphemous traſh as this could bee there delivered, and ſo many able hearers, as if it ſhould have been delivered by any, the Lord with-drawing his preſence from him, it would have been forthwith excepted againſt and publiſhed to the world. But I am confident if ſuch a thing were there heard, it was either from one of their owne company,

pany, or disciples made by them. And therefore I will passe by the answer also, as not concerning any difference between him and us, and so the rest of his writings to that end, and could wish that *Narcissus*-like hee were not so much in love with his owne shadow, lest it prove his ruine; there needing no other matter against him then his owne words and writings to render him odious to the State here, as well as to *New-England* from whence he came.

AND now that I have finished what I conceive necessary concerning Mr. *Gortons* scandalous and slanderous Bookes, let me briefly answer some objections that I often meet withall against the Country of *New-England*. The first that I meet with is, concerning the rise and foundation of our *New-England* Plantations; It being alledged (though upon a great mistake by a late Writer) that division or disagreement in the Church of *Leyden*, was the occasion, nay cause of the first Plantation in *New-England*; for saith the Author, or to this effect, when they could no longer agree together, the one part went to *New-England*, and began the Plantation at *Plymouth*, which he makes the mother, as it were, of the rest of the Churches, as if the foundation of our *New-England* Plantations had been laid upon division or separation, then which nothing is more untrue: For I perswade my selfe, never people upon earth lived more lovingly together, and parted more sweetly then wee the Church at *Leyden* did, not rashly in a distracted humour, but upon joynt and serious deliberation, often seeking the minde of God by fasting and prayer, whose gracious presence we not onely found with us, but his blessing upon us from that time to this instant, to the indignation of our adversaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of our selves, to see such effects of our prayers and teares before our pilgrimage here bee ended. And therefore briefly take notice of the true cause of it.

'Tis true, that that poor persecuted flock of Christ, by the malice and power of the late Hierarchy were driven to *Leyden* in *Holland*, there to beare witnesse in their practise to the Kingly Office of Christ Jesus in his Church: and there lived together ten yeares under the United States, with much peace and liberty: But our Reverend Pastor Mr. *John Robinson* of late memory, and our grave Elder Mr. *William Brewster*, (now both at rest with the Lord) considering

sidering amongst many other inconveniences, how hard the Country was where we lived, how many spent their estate in it, and were forced to return for *England*; how grievous to live from under the protection of the State of *England*; how like wee were to lose our language, and our name of English; how little good wee did, or were like to do to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath; how unable there to give such education to our children, as wee our selves had received, &c. They, I say, out of their Christian care of the flock of Christ committed to them conceived, if Godwould bee pleased to discover some place unto us (though in *America*) and give us so much favour with the King and State of *England*, as to have their protection there, where wee might enjoy the like liberty, and where the Lord favouring our endeavours by his blessing, wee might exemplarily shew our tender Country-men by our example (no lesse burthened then our selves) where they might live, and comfortably subsist and enjoy the like liberties with us, being freed from Antichristian bondage, keep their names and Nation, and not onely bee a meanes to enlarge the Dominions of our State, but the Church of Christ also, if the Lord have a people amongst the Natives whither hee should bring us, &c. Hereby in their grave Wisdomes they thought wee might more glorifie God, doe more good to our Countrey, better provide for our posterity, and live to be more refreshed by our labours, then ever wee could doe in *Holland* where we were.

Now these their private thoughts upon mature deliberation they imparted to the Brethren of the Congregation, which after much private discussion came to publike agitation, till at the length the Lord was solemnly sought in the Congregation by fasting and prayer to direct us, who moving our hearts more and more to the worke, wee sent some of good abilities over into *England* to see what favour or acceptance such a thing might finde with the King. These also found God going along with them, and got Sir *Edwin Sands* a religious Gentleman then living, to stirre in it, who procured Sir *Robert Naunton* then principall Secretary of State to King *James* of famous memory, to move his Majesty by a private motion to give way to such a people (who could not so comfortably live under the Government of another State) to enjoy their liberty of Conscience under his gracious protection in *America*, where they would endeavour the advancement of his Majesties Domini-

ons, and the enlargement of the Gospel by all due meanes. This his Majesty said was a good and honest motion, and asking what profits might arise in the part wee intended (for our eye was upon the most Northern parts of *Virginia*) 'twas answered, Fishing. To which hee replyed with his ordinary asseveration, *So God have my Soule 'tis an honest Trade, 'twas the Apostles owne calling*, &c. But afterwards he told Sir *Robert Naunton*, (who took all occasions to further it) that we should confer with the Bishops of *Canterbury* and *London*, &c. Whereupon wee were advised to persist upon his first approbation, and not to entangle our selves with them. which caused our Agents to repair to the *Virginia* Company, who in their Court demanded our ends of going; which being related, they said the thing was of God, and granted a large Patent, and one of them lent us 300 *l. gratis* for three yeares, which was repaid.

Our Agents returning, wee further sought the Lord by a publique and solemn Fast, for his gracious guidance. And hereupon wee came to this resolution, that it was best for one part of the Church to goe at first, and the other to stay, *viz.* the youngest and strongest part to goe. Secondly, they that went should freely offer themselves. Thirdly, if the major part went, the Pastor to goe with them; if not, the Elder onely. Fourthly, if the Lord should frowne upon our proceedings, then those that went to returne, and the Brethren that remained still there, to assist and bee helpfull to them, but if God should bee pleased to favour them that went, then they also should endeavour to helpe over such as were poore and ancient, and willing to come; these things being agreed, the major part stayed, and the Pastor with them for the present, but all intended (except a very few, who had rather wee would have stayed) to follow after. The minor part, with Mr. *Brewster* their Elder, resolved to enter upon this great work (but take notice the difference of number was not great;) And when the Ship was ready to carry us away, the Brethren that stayed having againe solemnly sought the Lord with us, and for us, and we further engaging our selves mutually as before; they, I say, that stayed at *Leyden* feasted us that were to goe at our Pastors house being large, where wee refreshed our selves after our teares, with singing of Psalmes, making joyfull melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of the Congregation very expert in Musick; and indeed it was

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the ſweeteſt melody that ever mine eares heard. After this they accompanyed us to *Delphs Haven*, where wee were to imbarque, and there feaſted us againe; and after prayer performed by our Paſtor, where a flood of teares was poured out, they accompanyed us to the Ship, but were not able to ſpeake one to another for the abundance of ſorrow to part: but wee onely going aboard (the Ship lying to the Key) and ready to ſet ſayle, the winde being faire) wee gave them a volley of ſmall ſhot, and three peeces of Ordinance, and ſo lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed, and found his preſence with us in the midſt of our manifold ſtraits hee carryed us thorow. And if any doubt this relation, the *Dutch*, as I heare, at *Delphs* Haven preſerve the memory of it to this day, and will inform them.

But falling with *Cape Cod* which is in *New-England*, and ſtanding to the Southward for the place wee intended, wee met with many dangers, and the Mariners put back into the Harbour of the *Cape*, which was the 11. of *November*, 1620. where conſidering Winter was come, the Seas dangerous, the ſeaſon cold, the winds high, and being well furniſhed for a Plantation, we entered upon diſcovery, and ſetled at *Plymouth*, where God being pleaſed to preſerve and enable us, wee that went, were at a Thouſand pounds charge in ſending for our Brethren that were behinde, and in providing there for them till they could reape a crop of their owne labours. And ſo good Reader, I have given thee a true and faithfull account, though very briefe, of our proceedings, wherein thou ſeeſt how a late Writer, and thoſe that informed him, have wronged our enterpriſe. And truly what I have written, is far ſhort of what it was, omitting for brevity ſake many circumſtances, as the large offers the *Dutch* offered us, either to have removed into *Zealand*, and there lived with them: or if we would go on ſuch adventures, to goe under them to *Hudſons* River (where they have ſince a great plantation, &c.) and how they would freely have tranſported us, and furniſhed every family with cattle, &c. Alſo the Engliſh Merchants that joyned with us in this expedition, whom wee ſince bought out, which is fitter for an Hiſtory, then an anſwer to ſuch an Objection, (& I truſt will be accompliſhed in good time.) By all which the Reader may ſee there was no breach between us that went, and the brethren that ſtayed, but ſuch love as indeed is ſeldome found on earth.

And for the many plantations that come over to us upon notice of Gods blessing upon us, whereas 'tis falsly said, they tooke *Plimouth* for their president as fast as they came. 'Tis true I confesse that some of the chiefe of them advised with us (comming over to be freed from the burthensome ceremonies then imposed in England) how they should doe to fall upon a right platforme of worship, and desired to that end since God had honoured us to lay the foundation of a Common-weale, and to settle a Church in it, to shew them whereupon our practice was grounded; and if they found upon due search it was built upon the Word, they should be willing to take up what was of God. We accordingly shewed them the Primitive practice for our warrant, taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles written to the severall Churches by the said Apostles together with the Commandements of Christ the Lord in the Gospell, and other our warrants for every particular wee did from the booke of God. Which being by them well weighed and considered, they also entred into Covenant with God and one with another to walke in all his wayes revealed, or as they should bee made knowne unto them, and to worship him according to his will revealed in his written word onely, &c. So that here also thou maist see they set not the Church at *Plimouth* before them for example, but the Primitive Churches were and are their and our mutuall patternes and examples, which are onely worthy to be followed, having the blessed Apostles amongst them which were sent immediately by Christ himselfe and enabled and guided by the unerring Spirit of God. And truly this is a patterne fit to bee followed of all that feare God, and no man or men to bee followed further then they follow Christ and them.

Having thus briefly shewed that the foundation of our *New-England* Plantations was not laid upon Schisme, division, or Separation, but upon love, peace, and holinesse; yea, such love and mutuall care of the Church of *Leyden* for the spreading of the Gospel, the welfare of each other, and their posterities to succeeding generations, as is seldome found on earth: And having shewed also that the Primitive Churches are the onely pattern which the Churches of Christ in *New-England* have in their eye, not following *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Knoxe*, *Ainsworth*, *Robinson*, *Ames*, or any other, further then they follow Christ and his Apostles; I am earnestly requested to cleare up another grosse mistake which caused many, and still doth,

to

to judge the harder of *New-England*, and the Churches there, because (say they) *The Church of Plymouth which went first from Leyden, were Schismaticks, Brownists, rigid Separatists, &c. having Mr.* Robinson *for their Pastor, who made, and to the last professed separation from other the Churches of Christ, &c. And the rest of the Churches in New-England holding communion with that Church, are to bee reputed such as they are.*

For answer to this aspersion, First, he that knew Mr. *Robinson*, either by his Doctrine daily taught, or hath read his Apology published not long before his death, or knew the practise of that Church of Christ under his government, or was acquainted with the wholsome counsell he gave that part of the Church which went for *New-England* at their departure and afterward, might easily resolve the doubt, and take off the aspersion.

For his Doctrine, I living three yeares under his Ministery, before we began the worke of Plantation in *New-England*; It was alwayes against separation from any the Churches of Christ, professing and holding communion both with the *French* and *Dutch* Churches, yea, tendering it to the *Scots* also, as I shall make appeare more particularly anon. Ever holding forth how wary persons ought to bee in separating from a Church, and that till Christ the Lord departed wholly from it, man ought not to leave it, onely to beare witnesse against the corruption that was in it. But if any object, he separated from the Church of *England*, and wrote largely against it; I acknowledge hee wrote largely against it, but yet let me tell you, hee allowed hearing the godly Ministers preach and pray in the publick Assemblies; yea, hee allowed private communion not onely with them, but all that were faithfull in Christ Jesus in the Kingdome and elsewhere upon all occasions; yea, honored them for the power of godlinesse above all other the professors of Religion in the world, nay, I may truly say, his spirit cleaved unto them, being so well acquainted with the integrity of their hearts, and care to walke blamelesse in their lives, which was no small motive to him to perswade us to remove from *Holland*, where wee might probably not onely continue *English*, but have and maintain such sweet communion with the godly of that Nation, as through Gods great mercy we enjoy this day.

'Tis true, I confesse he was more rigid in his course and way at first, then towards his latter end; for his study was peace and union,

ſo far as might agree with faith and a good conſcience; and for ſchiſm and diviſion, there was nothing in the world more hatefull to him: But for the government of the Church of *England*, as it was in the Epiſcopall way, the Liturgy and ſtinted prayers of the Church then; yea, the conſtitution of it as Nationall, and ſo conſequently the corrupt communion of the unworthy with the worthy receivers of the Lords Supper, theſe things were never approved of him, but witneſſed againſt to his death, and are by the Church over which he was to this day. And if the Lord would be pleaſed to ſtir up the hearts of thoſe, in whom (under him) the power of Reformation lies, to reform that abuſe, that a diſtinction might once be put between the precious and the vile, particular Churches might be gathered by the powerfull preaching of the Word, thoſe onely admitted into communion, whoſe hearts the Lord perſwades to ſubmit unto the Iron rod of the Goſpel; O how ſweet then would the communion of the Churches be! How thorow the Reformation! How eaſie would the differences be reconciled between the Presbyterian and Independent way! How would the God of peace which commandeth love and good agreement ſmile upon this Nation! How would the ſubtle underminers of it be diſappointed, and the faithfull provoked to ſing ſongs of praiſe and thankſgiving! Nay, how would the God of order be glorified in ſuch orderly walking of the Saints! And as they have fought together for the liberties of the Kingdome, Eccleſiaſticall and Civill; ſo may they joyn together in the preſervation of them (which otherwiſe, 'tis to be feared will not long continue) and in the praiſes of our God who hath been ſo good to his poore diſtreſſed ones, whom he hath delivered, and whom he will deliver out of all their troubles. But I have made too great a digreſſion, and muſt return.

In the next place I ſhould ſpeak of Mr. *Robinſons* Apology, wherein he maketh a briefe defence againſt many adverſaries, &c. But becauſe it is both in Latine and Engliſh, of ſmall price, and eaſie to bee had, I ſhall forbeare to write of it, and onely refer the Reader to it, for the differences between his congregation, and other the Reformed Churches.

The next thing I would have the Reader take notice of, is, that however the church of *Leyden* differed in ſome particulars, yet made no Schiſme or ſeparation from the Reformed Churches, but held communion with them occaſionally: For we ever placed a large difference

rence between those that grounded their practise upon the Word of God (tho differing from us in the exposition or understanding of it) and those that hated such Reformers and Reformation, and went on in Antichristian opposition to it, and persecution of it, as the late Lord Bishops did, who would not in deed and truth (whatever their pretences were) that Christ should rule over them. But as they often stretched out their hands against the saints; so God hath withered the Arm of their power, thrown them down from their high & lofty seats, and slain the chiefe of their persons, as well as the Hierarchy, that he might become an example to all those that rise against God in his Sabbath, in the preaching of his Word, in his Saints, in the purity of his Ordinances. And I heartily desire that others may heare and feare withall.

As for the *Dutch*, it was usuall for our Members that understood the language, and lived in, or occasionally came over to *London*, to communicate with them, as one *John Jenny* a Brewer long did, his wife and family, &c. and without any offence to the Church: So also for any that had occasion to travell into any other part of the Netherlands they daily did the like: And our Pastor Mr. *Robinson* in the time when Arminianisme prevailed so much, at the request of the most Orthodox Divines, as *Poliander*, *Festus*, *Homlius*, &c. disputed daily against *Episcopius* (in the Academy at *Leyden*) and others the grand champions of that error, and had as good respect amongst them, as any of their own Divines; Insomuch as when God took him away from them and us by death, the University, and Ministers of the City accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities; bewayling the great losse that not onely that particular Church had, whereof he was Pastor; but some of the chief of them sadly affirmed, that all the Churches of Christ sustained a losse by the death of that worthy Instrument of the Gospel. I could instance also divers of their members that understood the English tongue, and betook themselves to the communion of our Church, went with us to *New-England*, as *Godbert Godbertson*, &c. Yea, at this very instant, another called *Moses Symonson*, because a child of one that was in communion with the *Dutch* Church at *Leyden*, is admitted into Church-fellowship at *Plymouth* in *New-England*, and his children also to Baptism, as wel as our own, and other *Dutch* also in communion at *Salem*, &c.

And for the *French* Churches that we held, and do hold communion

nion with them, take notice of our practise at *Leyden*, *viz.* that one *Samuel Terry* was received from the *French* Church there, into communion with us; also the wife of *Francis Cooke* being a *Walloone*, holds communion with the Church at *Plymouth*, as she came from the *French*, to this day, by vertue of communion of Churches; There is also one *Philip Delanoy* born of *French* parents, came to us from *Leyden* to *New-Plymouth*, who comming to age of discerning, demanded also communion with us, & proving himself to be come of such parents as were in ful communion with the *French* Churches, was here upon admitted by the Church of *Plymouth*; and after upon his removal of habitation to *Duxburrow* where M. *Ralph Partridge* is Pastor of the Church; and upon Letters of recommendation from the Church at *Plymouth*, hee was also admitted into fellowship with the Church at *Duxburrow*, being six miles distant from *Plymouth*; and so I dare say, if his occasions lead him, may from Church to church throughout *New-England*. For the truth is, the *Dutch* and *French* Churches either of them being a people distinct from the world, and gathered into an holy communion, and not Nationall Churches, nay, so far from it, as I verily beleeve the sixth person is not of the Church, the difference is so small (if moderately pondered, between them and us) as we dare not for the world deny communion with them.

And for the Church of *Scotland*, however wee have had least occasion offered to hold communion with them; yet thus much I can and doe affirme, that a godly Divine comming over to *Leyden* in *Holland*, where a Booke was printed, *Anno* 1619. as I take it, shewing the nullity of *Perth* Assembled, whom we judged to bee the Author of it, and hidden in *Holland* for a season to avoid the rage of those evill times (whose name I have forgotten;) This man being very conversant with our Pastor Mr. *Robinson*, and using to come to hear him on the Sabbath, after Sermon ended, the Church being to partake in the Lords Supper, this Minister stood up and desired hee might, without offence, stay and see the manner of his administration, and our participation in that Ordinance; To which our Pastor answered in these very words, or to this effect, *Reverend Sir, you may not onely stay to behold us, but partake with us, if you please, for wee acknowledge the Churches of Scotland to be the Churches of Christ, &c.* The Minister also replyed to this purpose, if not also in the same words; *That for his part hee could comfortably partake with the Church, and willingly would, but that it is possible some of his brethren of Scotland*

might

might take offence at his act; which he desired to avoid in regard of the opinion the English Churches which they held communion withall had of us: However he rendered thanks to Mr. *Robinson*, and desired in that respect to be onely a spectator of us. These things I was earnestly requested to publish to the world by some of the godly Presbyterian party, who apprehend the world to bee ignorant of our proceedings, conceiving in charity that if they had been knowne, some late Writers and Preachers would never have written and spoke of us as they did, and still doe as they have occasion: But what they ignorantly judge, write, or speak of us, I trust the Lord in mercy wil passe by.

In the next place, for the wholsome counsell Mr. *Robinson* gave that part of the Church whereof he was Pastor, at their departure from him to begin the great worke of Plantation in *New-England*, amongst other wholsome Instructions and Exhortations, hee used these expressions, or to the same purpose; We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again: but whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed Angels, to follow him no further then he followed Christ. And if God should reveal any thing to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his Ministery: For he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to breake forth out of his holy Word. He took occasion also miserably to bewaile the state and condition of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period in Religion, and would goe no further then the instruments of their Reformation: As for example, the *Lutherans* they could not be drawne to goe beyond what *Luther* saw, for whatever part of Gods will he had further imparted and revealed to *Calvin*, they will rather die then embrace it. And so also, saith he, you see the *Calvinists*, they stick where he left them: A misery much to bee lamented; For though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them: And were they now living, saith hee, they would bee as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. Here also he put us in mind of our Church-Covenant (at least that part of it) whereby wee promise and covenant with God and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written Word: but withall exhorted us to take heed what

we received for truth, and well to examine and compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth, before we received it; For, saith he, *It is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian darknesse, and that full perfection of knowledge should breake forth at once.*

Another thing hee commended to us, was, that wee should use all meanes to avoid and shake off the name of *Browniſt*, being a meer nick-name and brand to make Religion odious, and the professors of it to the Christian world; and to that end, said hee, I should be glad if some godly Minister would goe over with you, or come to you, before my comming; For, said hee, there will bee no difference between the unconformable Ministers and you, when they come to the practise of the Ordinances out of the Kingdome: And so advised us by all meanes to endeavour to close with the godly party of the Kingdome of *England*, and rather to study union then division; *viz.* how neare we might possibly, without sin close with them, then in the least measure to affect division or separation from them. And be not loath to take another Pastor or Teacher, saith hee, for that flock that hath two shepheards is not indangered but secured by it. Many other things there were of great and weighty consequence which he commended to us, but these things I thought good to relate, at the request of some well-willers to the peace and good agreement of the godly, (so distracted at present about the settling of Church-government in the Kingdom of *England*) that so both sides may truly see what this poor despised Church of Christ now at *New-Plymouth* in *New-England*, but formerly at *Leyden* in *Holland*, was and is; how far they were and still are from separation from the Churches of *Christ*, especially those that are Reformed.

'Tis true, we professe and desire to practise a separation from the world, & the works of the world, which are works of the flesh, such as the Apostle speaketh of, *Ephes.* 5. 19, 20, 21. 1 *Cor.* 6. 9, 10, 11. and *Ephes.* 2. 11, 12. And as the Churches of Christ are all Saints by calling, so wedesire to see the grace of God shining forth, (at least seemingly, leaving secret things to God) in all we admit into church fellowship with us, & to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins, that neither the holy things of God, nor the communion of the Saints may be leavened or polluted thereby. And if any joyning to us formerly, either when we lived at *Leyden* in *Holland*, or since we came to *New-England*, have with the manifestation of their

faith

faith and profeſſion of holineſſe held forth therewith ſeparation from the Church of *England*, I have divers times, both in the one place, and the other, heard either *Mr. Robinſon* our Paſtor, or *Mr. Brewſter* our Elder ſtop them forthwith, ſhewing them that wee required no ſuch things at their hands, but only to hold forth faith in Chriſt Jeſus, holineſſe in the feare of God, and ſubmiſſion to every Ordinance and appointment of God, leaving the Church of *England* to themſelves, and to the Lord before whom they ſhould ſtand or fall, and to whom wee ought to pray to reforme what was amiſſe amongſt them. Now this Reformation we have lived to ſee performed and brought about by the mighty power of God, this day in a good meaſure, and I hope the Lord Jeſus will perfect his work of Reformation, till all be according to the good pleaſure of his will. By all which I deſire the Reader to take notice of our former and preſent practiſe notwithſtanding all the injurious and ſcandalous taunting reports are paſſed on us. And if theſe things will not ſatisfie, but wee muſt ſtill ſuffer reproach, and others for our ſakes, becauſe they and wee thus walke, our practiſe being for ought wee know, wholly grounded on the written Word, without any addition or humane invention knowne to us, taking our patterne from the Primitive Churches, as they were regulated by the bleſſed Apoſtles in their owne dayes, who were taught and inſtructed by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and had the unerring and all-knowing Spirit of God to bring to their remembrance the things they had heard: I ſay, if wee muſt ſtill ſuffer ſuch reproach, notwithſtanding our charity towards them who will not be in charity with us; Gods will be done.

The next aſperſion caſt upon us, is, that we will not ſuffer any that differ from us never ſo little to reſide or cohabite with us; no not the Presbyterian Government which differeth ſo little from us. To which I anſwer, our practiſe witneſſeth the contrary. For 'tis well knowne that Mr. *Parker* and Mr. *Noyce* who are Miniſters of the Church at *Newberry* are in that way and ſo knowne ſo farre as a ſingle Congregation can bee exerciſed in it; yet never had the leaſt moleſtation or diſturbance, and have and finde as good reſpect from Magiſtrates and people as other Elders in the Congregationall or Primitive way. 'Tis knowne alſo that Mr. *Hubbard* the Miniſter at *Hengam* hath declared himſelfe for that way: nay which is more then ever I heard of the other two, hee refuſeth to

baptzie no children that are tendred to him (although this liberty ſtands not upon a Presbyterian bottome) and yet the Civill State never moleſted him for it: onely comming to a Synod held in the Country the laſt yeare, which the Magiſtrates called, requeſting the Churches to ſend their Elders and ſuch other as might bee able to hold forth the light of God from his written word in caſe of ſome doubts which did ariſe in the Country: I ſay hee comming the laſt ſitting of the Aſſembly which was adjourned to the eighth of *June* next, was in all meekneſſe and love requeſted to bee preſent and hold forth his light hee went by in baptizing all that were brought to him, hereby waving the practiſe of the Churches, which he promiſing to take into conſideration they reſted in his anſwer. So alſo 'tis wel known, that before theſe unhappy troubles aroſe in *England* and *Scotland*, there were divers Gentlemen of *Scotland* that groaned under the heavy preſſaries of thoſe times, wrote to *New-England* to know whether they might freely be ſuffered to exerciſe their Preſbyteriall government amongſt us. And it was anſwered affirmatively they might: and they ſending over a Gentleman to take a view of ſome fit place; A River called *Meromeck* neare *Ipſwich* and *Newberry* aforeſaid, was ſhewed their Agent, which he well liked, and where wee have ſince four townes ſettled, and more may bee for ought I know, ſo that there they might have had a compleate Presbytery and whither they intended to have come: but meeting with manifold croſſes being halfe Seas thorow they gave over their intendments, and as I have heard theſe were many of the Gentlemen that firſt fell upon the late Covenant in *Scotland*: by all which will eaſily appeare how wee are here wronged by many; and the harder meaſure as wee heare impoſed upon our brethren for our ſakes, nay pretending our example for their preſident. And laſt of all, not long before I came away certaine diſcontented perſons in open Court of the *Maſſachuſets*, demanding that liberty, it was freely and as openly tendred to them; ſhewing their former practices by mee mentioned: but willed not to expect that wee ſhould provide them Miniſters &c. for the ſame, but getting ſuch themſelves they might exerciſe the Presbyterian Government at their libertie, walking peaceably towards us as wee truſted we ſhould doe towards them. So that if our brethren here ſhall bee reſtrained they walking peaceably, the example muſt not be taken from us, but ariſe from ſome other principle.

But

But it will not bee objected though you deale thus with the Presbyterian way, yet you have a severe law against Anabaptists, yea one was whipt at *Massachusets* for his Religion? and your law banisheth them? *Answ.* 'Tis true, the *Massachusets* Governement have such a law as to banish, but not to whip in that kinde. And certaine men desiring some mitigation of it, It was answered in my hearing. 'Tis true, we have a severe law, but wee never did or will execute the rigour of it upon any, and have men living amongst us, nay some in our Churches of that judgement, and as long as they carry themselves peaceably as hitherto they doe, wee will leave them to God, our selves having performed the duty of brethren to them. And whereas there was one whipt amongst us; 'tis true wee knew his judgement what it was: but had hee not carried himselfe so contemptuously towards the Authority God hath betrusted us with in an high exemplary measure, wee had never so censured him: and therefore he may thank himself who suffered as an evill doer in that respect. But the reason wherefore wee are loath either to repeale or alter the law, is, Because wee would have it remaine in force to beare witnesse against their judgement and practice which we conceive them to bee erroneous.

And yet nevertheless said the Governour to those preferred the request, you may tel our friends in *England*, whither yee are some of you going, since the motion proceedeth from such as wee know move it in love to us, wee will seriously take it into consideration at our next Generall Court. So that thou maist perceive good Reader that the worst is spoken of things in that kinde.

Furthermore in the Government of *Plimouth*, to our great griefe, not onely the Pastor of a Congregation waveth the administration of baptisme to Infants, but divers of his Congregation are fallen with him, and yet all the meanes the civill power hath taken against him and them, is to stirre up our Elders to give meeting and see if by godly conference they may bee able to convince and reclaime him, as in mercy once before they had done by Gods blessing upon their labours. Onely at the foresaid Synod, two were ordered to write to him in the name of the Assembly, and to request his presence at their next meeting aforesaid to hold forth his light hee goeth by in waving the practise of the Churches; with promise if it be light, to walke by it: but if it appeare otherwise, then they trust hee will returne againe to the unity of practice with them. And for the o-

the two Governments of *Conectacut* and *Newhaven*, if either have any law in force against them, or so much as need of a law in that kinde, 'tis more then I have heard on.

For our parts (I mean the Churches of *New-Engl.*) we are confident through Gods mercy, the way of God in which we walke, and according to which wee perform our Worship and service to Him, concurreth with those Rules our blessed Saviour hath left upon record by the Evangelists and Apostles, and is agreeable with the practise of those Primitive Churches mentioned in the *Acts*, and regulated by the same Apostles, as appeareth not onely in that Evangelicall Histiory, but in their Epistles to the severall Churches there mentioned; yet neverthelesse if any thorow tendernesse of Conscience be otherwise minded, to such wee never turn a deafe eare, nor become rigorous, though we have the streame of Authority on our sides. Nay, if in the use of all means we cannot reclaim them, knowing the *wisdome that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easie to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisie, and the fruit of righteousnesse is sowne in peace, of them that make peace*, according to *James* 3.17,18. And if any differing from us bee answerable to this Rule in their lives and conversations, we do not exercise the Civill sword against them. But for such as *Gorton* and his company, whose wisdome seems not to be from above, as appeareth in that it is *full of envyings, strife, confusion*, Jam. 3.15,16. being therein such as the Apostle *Jude* speaks on, *v.* 8. viz. *earthly, sensuall, devillish*; who *v.*16. *despise dominion, and speak evill of dignities*. These *v.*12,13. are *murmurers, complayners, walkers after their own lusts, and their mouth speaketh great swelling words*, being *clouds without water, carried about of winds, trees whose fruit withereth, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots, raging waves of the sea, foaming out their owne shame, wandring starres, to whom* (without repentance, which I much desire to see, or hear of in him, if it may stand with the will of God) *is reserved the blacknesse of darknesse for ever*. These I say are to be proceeded with by another rule, and not to bee borne: who suffer as evil doers, and are a shame to Religion which they professe in word, but deny in their lives and conversations. These every tender conscience abhors, and will justifie and assist the *higher Powers God hath ordained*, against such carnall Gospellers, *who beare not the sword in vaine, Rom.* 13. but execute Gods vengeance on such: for the Civill Magistrate is *the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute wrath on him that doth evil*. And there-

therefore a broad difference is to be put between such evill doers, and those tender consciences who follow the light of Gods Word in their owne perswasions, (though judged erroneous by the places where they live) so long as their walking is answerable to the rules of the Gospel, by preserving peace, and holding forth holinesse in their conversations amongst men.

Thus much I thought good to signifie, because we of *New-England* are said to be so often propounded for an example. And if any will take us for a president, I desire they may really know what wee doe, rather then what others ignorantly or malitiously report of us, assuring my self that none will ever be losers by following us so far as we follow Christ: Which that we may doe, and our posterities after us, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, & our Father, accept in Christ what is according to him, discover, pardon, and reform what is amisse amongst us; and guide us and them by the assistance of the holy Ghost for time to come, till time shal be no more; that the Lord our God may still delight to dwell amongst his Plantations and Churches there by his gracious presence, and may goe on blessing to blesse them with heavenly blessings in these earthly places, that so by his blessing they may not onely grow up to a Nation, but become exemplary for good unto others. And let all that wish wel to *Sion* say *Amen.*

FINIS.

ERRATA.

In the title of p. 9, &c. to 37. in stead of the Magistrates of *Boston* in *New-Engl.* r. *of Massachusetts in New-England*; p. 11. l. 27. for purpose God, r. *purpose of God*; p. 14 for day of, r. *day of the*; p. 30 l. 17. for Cope, r. *cup*; also l. 18. for cope, r. *cup*; also l. 21. for Judas, r. *as Judas*; p. 32. l. 3. leave out *to*; p. 54. l. 10. for by, r. *in*; p. 67. l. 37. for complaining, r. *complained*; p. 79. l. 26. for with as indeed, r. *with them as*; p. 83. l. 23. for and, put (p. 85. l. 6. for whom, r. *which.*